The Outlook

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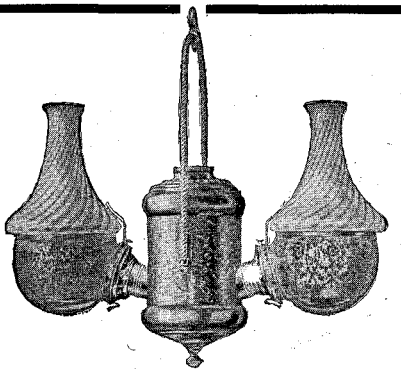

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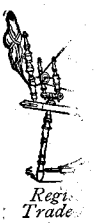

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The Outlook

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 30, 1905

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In Congress: The Panama Canal

The House of Representatives last week accepted the conference report on the Panama Canal Emergency Bill and passed the bill almost as it left the Senate, for the conference between the two Houses left the bill practically in that form. The bonds upon which the appropriation will finally rest will not be issued at present, as money will be provided for immediate use from the Treasury, and under the terms of the bill the bonds may be put forth when the Secretary of the Treasury thinks the time more desirable for the general interests of the financial world than at present. The Senate became somewhat disturbed regarding the nominations of Isthmian Canal Commissioners because these nominations had been reported to the Senate itself without the knowledge of the members of its Interoceanic Canal Committee. There was also some feeling of objection over the nomination of Joseph B. Bishop to be a Panama Canal Commissioner. In the end all the nominations were recalled through a request to the President, and they will be taken up again after the holiday vacation for consideration. The objection to Mr. Bishop's appointment came out of the fact that in Congress the payment of a salary of $10,000 a year to Mr. Bishop in part for what was called press agency work had been a main point of attack in the debate on the Canal Bill. It was said that his appointment as a Commissioner would change his official status but would not lessen the salary, as it was understood that Mr. Bishop would draw $7,500 as Commissioner and $2,500 as Secretary of the Commission. That a secretary is needed and that Mr. Bishop is admirably fitted for that position we do not understand is questioned. This matter will bring up again the entire subject of salaries to be paid to officials and employees connected with the Canal project. The Outlook would certainly not attempt to pass an opinion as to the adequacy or relative fairness of individual salaries; but it is, in its judgment, beyond question that here no niggardly policy is desirable, and that if the Government desires to have in its employ men of executive ability and special skill, it must and should pay such salaries as obtain in the business world for services of like value. It is to be remembered also that for work in the tropics, under less comfortable conditions and greater possibilities of illness than exist at home, it is perfectly natural that special compensation should be demanded.

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In Congress: The Philippine Tariff Bill, etc.

The Payne Philippine Tariff Bill has been favorably reported to the House. It provides that all goods totally produced within the Philippines shall come into the United States free of duty, with the exception of sugar and tobacco, which are to pay twenty-five per cent. of the Dingley duty, instead of seventy-five per cent. as now. An important amendment incorporated in the report is that all American-grown sugar and tobacco shall enter the Philippines free of duty. The minority report of the Ways and Means Committee was filed by Mr. Williams, the Democratic leader in the House. It offers a substitute declaring for absolute free trade between the United States and the insular possessions, but adds that if the substitute is voted down the opposition will support the Republican bill, as it is "a long step in the logical and right direction." The report also declares that "the members of the minority of the Committee on Ways and Means believe that the anomalous and preposterous status of the Philippine Islands, by which

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they are treated as American territory for certain purposes and as foreign or semi-foreign territory for certain other purposes, cannot be long maintained, and should be immediately terminated." A bill, said to be part of a plan to fight the Payne Philippine Tariff Bill, was introduced into the House by Mr. Needham, of California, having as its object the repeal of the Cuban Reciprocity Treaty. ——Governor La Follette, of Wisconsin, last week resigned the Governorship of the State, with the intention of assuming the place in the United States Senate to which he was elected some time ago by the Wisconsin Legislature.

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Not a Personal Issue

The nomination of Mr. Franklin K. Lane as a member of the Inter-State Commerce Commission, and the opposition of certain Senators to the nomination, present not merely to the Senate, but to the entire country, a question of supreme importance. Mr. Lane started in politics as a prohibitionist, and was a supporter of Bryan in his first campaign and we believe also in his second campaign. He has served as City Attorney of San Francisco for three terms, and has run unsuccessfully for the Mayor of that city and for the Governor of the State. In the last Presidential election he advocated the election of Judge Parker. He has personally and politically a clean record, and is regarded by those who know him as an idealist of the Roosevelt type—that is, a combination of the idealist and the practical man of action. He has no connection with railway interests, and would not be likely to be either the opponent or the advocate of the railways. He has the hearty indorsement of leading men on the Pacific coast of both parties, and almost without exception of the press of the State. Among his warm indorsers is Benjamin I. Wheeler, President of the University of California, who is credited with having first suggested his name to the President. The opposition to him comes solely from the fact that he is a Democrat and that his appointment, if confirmed, would give the Democrats a majority on the Inter-State Commission. The objection is thus stated by a newspaper reporter, purporting to quote a prominent Republican Senator: "Party policies are involved, and it is the duty of the President and the Republicans in Congress to see that their party gets the full credit for railroad rate legislation." To this the President's reply, as quoted by another newspaper correspondent, is that he does not care to make the appointment on partisan grounds and does not regard the Commission as partisan in any sense.

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Importance of this Issue

This issue is one of supreme importance to the entire country. The President has frankly declared that in ordinary appointments he is largely influenced by the party organization, demanding only that it shall give him a good name or good names from which to make his selection. In this co-operation with the political organization he goes quite as far in that direction—so it appears to an independent journal like The Outlook—as it is for the interest of good government that he should go. To accept for a position on the Inter-State Commission the nomination of the Republican machine would be to hazard making that body a party, if not a partisan, organization. The Inter-State Commerce Commission should be as free from all suspicion of partisan control as the Supreme Court of the United States. The opposition to railway rate regulation through a commission has been largely based upon the alleged susceptibility of such a commission to political influences; the opposition has claimed that the fixing of railway rates should be left to the judges of the United States courts because they are free from partisan bias. Now that the President is acting on the theory that the Commission should be not partisan, but judicial, he is opposed because he is not making it partisan. It is legitimate to add that the attempt to control the nomination in the interest of the party organization will inevitably render those who make it open to the suspicion that they are attempting to control it in the interest of certain favored railways. In fact, if newspaper reports be true, the

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fiercest opposition to Mr. Lane comes from the Senators who are openly or covertly fighting the entire scheme of railway rate legislation. The Outlook holds no brief for Mr. Lane; it is not advocating his appointment; but it is turning what light it can upon the unworthy opposition to that appointment, based upon no better ground than that Mr. Lane is not a Republican and will not enter the Inter-State Commerce Commission under an implied pledge to further the interests of the Republican party.

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A Needed Measure of Protection

What is known as the Severalty Bill, which provides for breaking up the Indian Reservations and giving the Indians their lands in severalty, aims to guard against their being deprived of these lands through their ignorance or incompetence by a provision that the Government shall hold the lands in trust for twenty-five years, and at the end of that time deed them in fee simple to the Indian allottee or his heirs. The Indian population on a reservation practically changes in twenty-five years, so these lands will go almost wholly to heirs when the titles in fee simple are made out. How is the Government to find out who these heirs are? It is coming near the time when some of the Indians will be granted such deeds, and there are not wanting unscrupulous lawyers who are hoping to profit by the litigation that is sure to come over these estates. The Government under this trust ought to deed to these Indians lands, not lawsuits. Already some Indians have suffered under serious wrongs from the failure of Congress to provide adequate measures for their legal protection after they have come out from the protection of the Indian Agent. Mr. T. H. Tibbles, in a recent address in Boston, thus portrays these wrongs:

> Even now, under the law that permitted certain heirship lands to be sold, the greatest wrongs have been inflicted upon some of these heirs. Parties get together and agree upon some one whom they will elect a probate judge, and for all practical purposes that judge becomes a member of the firm. When an Indian dies, one of these lawyers rushes to the probate judge and gets himself appointed administrator of the estate and guardian for the minor children. I have been informed that one lawyer has been appointed administrator and guardian in seventy-four estates. All these estates are valuable. None of them are less than one hundred and sixty acres, and, where there are several children, several hundred acres. These lands are rented to tenants by the administrator, and no accounting has been required. Who can tell who the rightful heirs are? There has been no record of births, deaths, and marriages. Some of the Indian marriages will be a hard thing to untangle. The Government holds these lands in trust, and this trust provides that at the expiration of twenty-five years it shall deed them to the allottee or his heirs. I hold that trust includes the duty of the Government to find out who those heirs are. Is not that point well taken?

We think the point is well taken. It was supported at the recent Lake Mohonk Indian Conference by Dr. Merrill E. Gates, who urged the importance of adequate birth and marriage certificates as a basis for determining who are the real heirs. A committee was there appointed to take this matter up and press it upon the attention of Congress. On that committee were Mr. Tibbles himself, Congressman Fitzgerald, of Brooklyn, New York, and ex-Judge Charles Andrews, of New York State. The Outlook is confident that this committee will have the co-operation of the Indian Commissioner, as they ought to have the support of all fair-minded men, in any well-devised plan to secure to the Indians as their inheritance a homestead, not a lawsuit.

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Railway Rate Regulation

In line with an opinion expressed by President Roosevelt in his annual Message, the executive officials of certain Western railways entered into an agreement in Chicago last week whereby they bound themselves to inform the Inter-State Commerce Commission of any illegal acts of any kind. In his Message the President had said: "The best possible regulation of rates would, of course, be that regulation secured by an honest agreement among the railways themselves to carry out the law." In this spirit a committee composed of representatives of all the traffic associations in the West and Southwest has

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been appointed to watch the payment of rebates. On the advice of some of the best railway attorneys in the country, the following programme is stated to have been adopted by the railway companies centering at Chicago: (1) No renewals of contracts or secret rebate agreements with shippers. (2) No extension of private car line influence. (3) Concerted effort to curb industrial roads. Such a plan means that the railways will turn informers against themselves; in other words, that they propose to make it possible to enforce the Elkins Law against rebates by reporting all the evidence in their possession concerning violation. This is an impressive evidence of what may be accomplished by an agreement among railways to make rates uniform. It is in striking contrast to the secret and private bidding against one another which has been thought necessary to get business. It emphasizes the principle that railways should be encouraged to combine. This granted, however, they in turn should acknowledge the right of the Government to supervise and regulate the combination so as to secure from it justice for the people. Their present action is good as far as it goes, and gives point to the fact that many railways are not, in spirit, against proper regulation. But the action of the Western railways does not go far enough. It does not remove the obstacle well stated by the Attorney-General in his recent report. He showed that we have had too much negative legislation, not enough affirmative. The Elkins Law against rebates would be a good law if proper testimony could be obtained. To a rebate transaction there are only two witnesses, the shipper and the railway official. The testimony of one or the other of these must be obtained, but in practice it has been impossible to obtain it.

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Railway Passes

Another railway action is also noteworthy. Some companies propose to treat their passengers as well as their shippers alike. The Pennsylvania, Reading, Lehigh Valley, New York Central, Central of New Jersey, and other systems have decided to issue no new passes and not to renew annual passes after December 31. This action has brought consternation to many members of State legislatures and to an army of beneficiaries of all sorts. Yet not even these men have had the courage publicly to defend a system by which they have profited. For the public at large was instant and practically unanimous in approving the action of the railway companies, despite the occasional charitable and worthy purposes of the pass system. An uplift in manliness and morality would be not inconsiderable, we believe, if, after December 31, 1905, it could be understood that on all railway systems only the officials and employees of the railways themselves should ride free.

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Federal Control of Corporations

The Hon. James R. Garfield, Commissioner of the Bureau of Corporations, in his annual report, published last week, after recording the relations of his Bureau with regard to special departments—the beef industry, for instance—renews with force his recommendation made a year ago for Federal control of corporations. His close and conscientious study of the methods of industrial organization, promotion, competition, and extension confirms what The Outlook has often stated—that proper control is no longer possible by the single State which creates corporate existence. As Mr. Garfield says, the relation of our large shippers, namely, the greater industrial corporations, to the transportation companies, would alone be a sufficient reason for bringing them under Federal regulation. It is idle to claim, he adds, that railways are wholly at fault for rebates, discriminations, and other devices which afford to one shipper improper advantages over a competitor. He says:

> It is impossible to prevent such abuses by purely penal legislation. The imposition of a penalty upon a combination simply drives the men in that combination to the formation of another device for accomplishing the same purpose, and this for the reason that combination is an industrial necessity and hence will be engaged in, despite penal legislation.

By the exercise of the affirmative power granted under the commerce clause of

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the Constitution, Congress can provide a method by which reasonable combination may be permitted and yet kept under Governmental control. This may be accomplished either by a license to engage in such commerce or by a charter granted by the Federal Government. Under either form, as the Commissioner rightly insists, Congress should require publicity and honesty in the promotion, organization, capitalization, and conduct of the corporation. Moreover, the Government should reserve for itself the right to inspect the corporation's books. Finally, a further and more important right should be reserved—the stoppage of the operations of any corporation which violates Federal statutes, preserving, however, at all times, to the corporation and to its stockholders, the right of judicial appeal against the improper exercise of executive authority. Such a law, in Mr. Garfield's opinion and in ours, would be no invasion of individual liberty or right; would be no effort to have the Government do that which the individual could better do; and would neither destroy individual enterprise nor prevent legitimate individual success. In Mr. Garfield's fit phrase, "It would afford equality of opportunity, not equality in results."

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Naturalization of Aliens

A year ago Secretary Hay made a report to the President on the subject of the naturalization of aliens. For a long time reform in that branch has been increasingly necessary. Existing conditions are now intolerable. The State Department has been overwhelmed by an amount of vexatious and unnecessary labor, due to the fact that our naturalization provisions are not uniform and that they are too lax. Here and abroad the Department must issue passports to naturalized citizens, when they establish a *prima facie* right to receive them; it must afford protection to them, while they are abroad, equally with citizens who were born in the United States; and while from all applicants for passports it requires proof of citizenship, it has no means of investigating the validity of certificates of citizenship as long as they are regular on their face, nor can it properly review the action of the courts which naturalize aliens. The Department has long had to contend with forged certificates; other cases have been reported where a certificate properly granted has been sent to a friend abroad, who passes himself off as the person for whom it was issued. Our naturalization laws have been constantly evaded in these and other ways. As Mr. Hay truly said, it is a thankless thing when, after the use of discretion and good judgment in protecting American citizens by our agents abroad, those citizens are discovered not to be entitled to the certificates which they hold. If the evil is thus evident in our foreign relations, it is none the less so in those at home. Cases have been constantly recurring of persons who have secured naturalization before they have resided in this country for the period of five years or before they were twenty-one years of age. Moreover, under our laws, about five thousand separate tribunals have power to construe the naturalization laws. The rules made by these tribunals for this purpose vary widely. Mentioning certain pressing reforms, Secretary Hay therefore earnestly recommended that a commission investigate the whole subject and report to the President. The latter directed that the Commissioners be three in number, appointed from their respective departments by the Secretaries of State and Commerce and the Attorney-General. The gentlemen selected by the heads of those departments were Messrs. Gaillard Hunt, of the State Department, Milton D. Purdy, of the Department of Justice, and Richard K. Campbell, of the Department of Commerce. Their report was published last week.

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Necessary Reforms

With regard to the trouble in our foreign relations, the Commission's first recommendation is that no one be admitted to citizenship who does not intend to reside permanently in the United States; that a signed declaration of such intention be included in the certificate of citizenship Next, no one should be admitted to citizenship who does not know the English language. While we have undoubtedly good material for citizenship among those who do

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not speak English, it is an incontrovertible fact that those who do have the chance of becoming more valuable citizens—as Madison once said, what we need is not mere numbers of citizens, but good citizens. Probably the greatest cause of corruption as to home relations has been the desire to use for political purposes really ineligible candidates for citizenship. To check this corruption the Commission recommends that a fee of at least seven dollars be prescribed by law, and that no naturalizations be allowed for at least thirty days preceding a Presidential or Congressional election. The Commission also recommends that the declaration of intention (which can now be made before any clerk of court at least two years before naturalization) be entirely abolished, and that in its place be substituted a petition for naturalization before the clerk of the *same* court in which the naturalization is to take place at least three months before the naturalization proceedings are heard. As a preventive to the court abuses, the Commission recommends that in those cities where Federal courts sit almost continuously no State courts shall entertain applications for citizenship, and that in smaller places only one specified State court shall have jurisdiction. A uniform certificate of citizenship is also demanded, to be printed on paper which cannot be counterfeited. In this connection we note that the recent Immigration Conference passed a resolution recommending that each naturalization certificate contain a description of the physical appearance of the applicant similar to that which appears on a passport. This would help to prevent the transfer of the certificate. The Commissioners recommend the establishment of a Bureau of Naturalization, not in the State Department, but, more appropriately, in the Department of Commerce and Labor, owing to the connection between such a bureau and the Bureau of Immigration in the latter Department. The Bureau of Naturalization would have full jurisdiction of the enforcement of our naturalization law. Even if the naturalizations should decrease one-half, the naturalization fees would produce a revenue far in excess of the cost of the Federal machinery recommended. The existing law prescribes how an alien may secure naturalization, but is inadequate in that it provides no machinery to supervise the law's operations. A Bureau of Naturalization, therefore, should be established by Congress in the Department of Commerce as promptly as Congress established the Bureau of Corporations in the same Department.

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A Boss at Bay The Republican situation in New York State is of more than local importance, because it is a symptom of the impatience with boss rule which is National in its extent. In the November elections in New York City the voters attempted to give expression to this impatience by a huge vote for Mr. Hearst and his associates on the Municipal Ownership ticket. Mr. Odell had the wisdom to foresee this uprising, abandoned the nominees of his own party, and made an alliance with Mr. Hearst. Although the Municipal Ownership candidates for the executive offices in the city government were, with one or two exceptions, defeated, the joint candidates for the Board of Aldermen and the State Assembly were remarkably successful. It was, therefore, generally supposed that Mr. Odell, having used Mr. Hearst as a catspaw, had succeeded in getting what he wanted—an increased hold upon the State Legislature. Outwardly, all seemed well for the Republican boss, until the contest for the Speakership of the Assembly began. In the meantime, however, the insurance investigation had brought to light, through the testimony of Mr. Ryan, Mr. Harriman, and Mr. Odell himself, the relation which the Republican machine had with greedy financial interests. That which before had been a matter of rumor and "common knowledge" became then a matter of record. The opposition to Mr. Odell's candidate for Speaker grew in vigor. At last Governor Higgins, in reply to an inquiry as to his personal preference among the Speakership candidates, made a frank public statement and named a young member of the Assembly, who had not before been mentioned.

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Mr. James W. Wadsworth, Jr. This action of Governor Higgins in publicly expressing his desire to see some one who was not an Odell candidate chosen goaded Mr. Odell into an angry outburst last week against not only the Governor, but also the President, whom he suspected of having the same desire. He accuses both these gentlemen of political treachery—an accusation which it will require more than his word to substantiate. This violation of his accustomed cool, if not cold, silence has been interpreted as an unpremeditated confession by Mr. Odell that his political domination is doomed.

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The Political Bander-Log

To the rescue of Mr. Odell have come running his most faithful followers. Men who have taken his orders and obeyed seemed at first astounded and then indignant that any one else, especially a mere Governor, should have and express an independent opinion. Thus, a State Senator, Mr. Malby, has declared that there are valid grounds for impeaching the Governor, and has opined:

> There is no sovereign on earth, with the possible exception of the Czar of Russia, who would dare to issue a manifesto such as was issued by Governor Higgins. . . . It is about time that a halt was called upon these flagrant usurpations on the part of Executives.

For sheer native simplicity there seems to be no one who can compare with a seasoned political henchman. To imagine that people can accept seriously such a statement from a man who bows to the will of a party chairman is surely naïve. There would be no occasion for paying any attention to such utterances as those of Mr. Odell and Mr. Malby except that it gives an opportunity to contrast the party boss with the party leader. The one, using party patronage as a whip or reward, whispers his orders in private; the other, using his official position for the public service, exercises his right as a citizen and a public officer to announce his opinions openly. The authority of the boss is that of the man who will bestow or withhold favors for the price of obedience; the authority of the party leader is that of the man in whom the people, by their suffrages, have expressed their confidence. The public officer, be he President or Governor, who uses his opportunities as party leader can disregard the attacks of those who assail him in the language of political virtue. This incident reminds us of what Baloo, the bear, said to Mowgli concerning the Bander-Log, the Monkey People:

> They have no speech of their own, but use stolen words which they overhear when they listen and peep and wait up above in the branches. . . . They boast and chatter and pretend that they are a great people about to do great affairs in the jungle. . . . They are very many, evil, dirty, shameless, and they desire, if they have any fixed desire, to be noticed by the Jungle People. But we do *not* notice them even when they throw nuts and filth on our heads.

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The Sale of the Metropolitan System

The announcement that Mr. August Belmont has purchased Mr. Thomas F. Ryan's interest in the New York City Metropolitan Railway system is generally, and we judge correctly, interpreted to mean that the men who control the subway and elevated systems in the borough of Manhattan have now also acquired control of the street surface railway system. This combination of practically the entire local transit system from the Battery to the Bronx, under one control, will make not a few of those who voted against Mr. Hearst regret that he was not elected. It will greatly increase both the difficulties and the responsibilities of Mr. McClellan, and will subject his administration to keener observation and perhaps even to unjust criticism. It emphasizes the principle which The Outlook has often affirmed, quoting it from Stephenson, the creator of railways, that competition is impossible whenever combination is possible. It greatly lessens the prospect of competitive bidding for the privilege of building the new subways which the Rapid Transit Commission has already designated as desired by the city. As the city cannot loan its credit for the building of these subways, as it did for the present subways, because it has reached the debt limit imposed by the Constitution, the city will not improbably

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have to accept such terms as Mr. Belmont sees fit to offer, or wait until the Constitution can be amended and the debt limit for interest-paying investments extended. It will lead to a union of the local passenger transit system of the city under one capitalistic control, and this will inevitably be followed by one labor organization, in which all the persons employed on that system will be united. In case of a labor difficulty between these two organizations, a strike would put an end to all transportation, except such as could be furnished by carriages or extemporized omnibuses, with results of which the present experience of Russia affords some indication. And these serious conditions are not greatly alleviated by the semi-official promise of the New York "Times," which has come to be regarded as Mr. Belmont's organ, that Mr. Belmont will be good and will not use despotically his despotic power.

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What to Do The city has no right to expect Mr. McClellan to achieve the impossible, and wholly to avert the danger of those consequences is the impossible. But it has intrusted the interests of the people to his keeping and that of his associates in the Board of Estimate and Apportionment; and it has a right to expect that those interests will be the object of his undivided attention and care. The American people are always in a hurry. This is the bad side of a characteristic of which the good side is energy. The people of New York City are in danger of being contented if not satisfied with a promise of quick transit and convenient transfers; but if Mr. McClellan is a statesman, he will look forward to the future, he will think of the time when he will be known either as the politician who sold the people's birthright for a mess of pottage, or as the statesman who preserved their birthright though they were ready to surrender it for a temporary convenience. It will be better for the people to get along with present transit conveniences until the Constitutional amendment which Mr. Coler has urged so vigorously can be secured and the city can be enabled to build its subways, than to make a contract with Mr. Belmont or any one else by which the ultimate ownership and control of its transit system shall pass out of the city's hands. The fundamental duty of the city administration is to secure the city's ownership of the new subways, whatever temporary inconvenience may be caused. No details of Mr. Belmont's purchase are made public at this writing, and we reserve report of their nature and conditions till they are better known.

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The Russian Strike Last week the Russian Union of Unions, the Union of Peasants, the Council of Workmen, and the Railway Union decided on another general political strike. The reason was not solely or chiefly any discontent with wages, hours, or treatment; it was the desire of Russia's working people to impress the Government with their strength, and through that impression to obtain political rights. In addition to making the regular demands for the convocation of a Constituent Assembly, for universal suffrage, for the abolition of martial law and for immunity of the person, the strike call insists on the release of the imprisoned members of the Workmen's Council, the discontinuance of all political suits, acquiescence with the petitions of the army and navy men and of the railway, postal, and telegraph employees for an increase of pay, for the transfer of Crown lands to the people, for an eight-hour day, and for the abolition of all restrictions regarding nationalities and religion. The preamble begins thus:

> CITIZENS!
> Freedom or Slavery?
> Is Russia to be governed by the people or robbed by a band of thieves? Let us stop industry, commerce, and communications throughout the country, and with one united effort overthrow the last vestige of autocracy.

Another appeal to the public was issued asking for liberal support from all classes for the proletariat, "which is now bearing the brunt of the struggle for the nation's emancipation." On the other hand, it is reported that appeals were issued by Father Gapon, the hero of Red Sunday, and by Professor Milukov, the author

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of "Russia and its Crisis" and leader of the Constitutional Democrats, to the proletariat organizations against a general strike, doubting its ultimate success, and declaring that it would inevitably lead to repression and perhaps to great bloodshed, which would be fatal to the whole emancipation movement. These moderate counsels, however, were not heeded by the determined strike leaders. Their order was largely obeyed. By the end of the week, in St. Petersburg, 125,000 men, representing 178 factories, were on strike. The railway workshops were closed, but some trains have continued to leave. At night the capital is in darkness and its streets are again patrolled by mounted troops. There has been some fighting in the factory districts between men willing to work and the strikers seeking to prevent them. It is believed that many had already joined the strikers through fear, displaying the same characteristic Russian sheep-like endurance under the dominance of the strike leaders that they have always shown under the grinding heel of bureaucratic officialdom. In Moscow the revolutionaries have been less pacific than in the capital, probably owing to a less effective military control. Gunsmiths' shops have been pillaged, and disorders, accompanied with loss of life, have occurred in the streets.

❀

The Government's Course

The Russian Government has, of course, not been idle. The Czar has sanctioned the anti-strike measures devised by the Council of Ministers, compensating employees whose health has been injured by the acts of strikers, pensioning employees if they should be entirely disabled, and providing for their families if employees should be killed or die from their injuries; and increasing the salaries of the postal and telegraph employees, and for the railway employees, who are working overtime, allotting a great sum of several hundred thousand dollars. The anti-strike measures provide that—

Persons who incite others to strike, employees of the railways and telegraphs who go on strike, or those enjoying State rights who arbitrarily stop work, are liable to imprisonment for any period up to sixteen months.

Persons who attempt by force or by threats to compel others to strike may be imprisoned for any period up to sixteen months.

Persons holding membership in associations which aim to foment strikes may be imprisoned in a fortress for any period from sixteen months to four years, with the loss of certain civil rights.

Wholesale arrests of strike leaders have been made, martial law has been declared in many regions, and virtually dictatorial powers have been conferred on the provincial Governors. Whether the Government succeeds in gaining the mastery depends on the loyalty of the troops, or the Czar's assent to the first and fundamental demand of the strikers.

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The "Open Door"

The Chino-Japanese treaty was last week signed by Baron Komura and Mr. Uchida, on behalf of Japan, and Prince Ching and Viceroy Yuan Shi-Kai, on behalf of China. China consents to lease to Japan the Kwangtung peninsula, at the southern extremity of which are Port Arthur and Dalny, formerly held by Russia under lease from China; and concedes to Japan the control of the railway on the peninsula northward as far as Changchin. This is one of the spurs which connects with the Russian Siberian Railway system, and the point named may mark the division between Russian and Japanese control. China also concedes to Japan the right to build a railway from Antung on the Yalu River to Mukden, the ancient capital of Manchuria, probably along the line of the famous old military or caravan road; it is provided, however, that at the end of a certain period the road may be purchased by China. Most important of all is the agreement by China to open to the world's commerce and trade sixteen principal ports and cities in Manchuria, including Harbin, the modern Russian capital of the province and its most important railway center, thus marking the final success of the long struggle made by Secretary Hay on behalf of America and the world for the "open door." It emphasizes as well Japan's sincerity in the furtherance of that principle. While the new treaty

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establishes no alliance between China and Japan, if such an alliance should ultimately be established, America and the world may well hope that Japan will then do as much for the "open door" as she has now done.

❀

The Shanghai Strike

Last week at Shanghai, China, a general strike, accompanied by the closing of shops and serious street disturbances, took place as a result of a public meeting the day before of the local guilds. The strike was organized by the leaders of the anti-foreign boycott. The German Consul was stoned by the rioters and the American Vice-Consul was injured. The mob set fire to the municipal police station and released the prisoners. Volunteers were called out and landing parties were disembarked from the foreign ships in the harbor. While the riot was promoted by boycotters, its cause was an incident involving the Mixed Court. In China the régime of exterritoriality still obtains, and in the treaty ports foreign settlements are regulated, not by native tribunals, but by mixed courts, to which all Chinese residents in the settlement are subject. In Shanghai, while the French, for instance, have a mixed court of their own, the American, British, and German precincts are united for judicial purposes. A Chinese magistrate and either an American, British, or German official preside over this court, which, among other things, has jurisdiction over all licenses and taxes. The recent disturbance is said to have been caused by the alleged exorbitance of the license fee exacted by the British assessor. After three days, with American, British, German, Italian, and Japanese sailors guarding the foreign concessions and with mounted volunteers patrolling roads outside the city, the court dispute was settled and order restored. There was genuine relief when this was accomplished; the real danger was felt to be not so much in Shanghai itself as in the possibility that a successful agitation there might stir up natives in the interior, where it would be difficult to send guards from the war-ships. While last week's event is not the first riot which has been provoked by the mixed tribunals, the incident is unusually significant because it is a renewed indication of China's new nationalism. Japan's victory has had its inevitable effect in rousing Chinese pride, long dormant. Japan proposes to raise certain legations to the rank of embassies; China now announces that she wishes to do the same. Japan has obtained the abolishment of the régime of exterritoriality, and last week's event indicates more emphatically than ever before that China will never be content until she does the same. America should take notice that a special symptom of the reawakening of a spirit of nationalism in China is the protest by the boycott of American products against the unjust application of our Exclusion Act.

❀

The Sultan and the Powers

The concerted attempt of six European Powers to compel the Sultan of Turkey to execute reforms in Macedonia last week met with success. As diplomatic means had proven unavailing, the Powers assembled a fleet and took possession of the island of Mitylene, commanding Smyrna on the coast of Asia Minor. The Governor of Mitylene protested, but his representations were unavailing. During the week covered by the Feast of Bairam—a high Muslim function—the fleet took no action. At the expiration of that period the Sultan tried to obtain a modification of the financial control scheme which had been applied to Macedonia by the Powers. In principle he had long since accepted the reforms urged upon him by the Emperors of Austria and Russia, who had acted as the spokesmen of the concert of Europe. It was appropriate that they were the spokesmen, since, if the representations of the Powers to the Sultan had gone unheeded, those Emperors would have probably been the agents upon whom the European concert would have chiefly relied. A naval demonstration was not anticipated until recently, however, it being supposed that the Sultan would allow foreign agents to collect taxes in Macedonia, and thus relieve the oppression hitherto exercised by the Turkish collectors. But since the

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defeat of Russia by Japan, and the evidence of terrible unrest throughout all Russia itself, and more especially since the Black Sea mutinies with their evidence of Russian naval weakness, the Sultan had taken a defiant attitude. It became necessary, therefore, for Europe, outside of Russia, to intimate to Abdul Hamid that force was a language which could be employed with reference to Turkey, whether Russia was able to join in it or not. The Sultan was also strengthened in his defiance by the attitude of his Muslim subjects. They pointed out to him, first, that he could not in any part of his dominion permit the fundamental duties of sovereignty to be discharged by foreigners without forfeiting his claim to be revered as Commander of the Faithful; secondly, that if foreigners were to be admitted to Turkey at all, they should not belong to those so-called Christian nations which, while proposing to discipline the Turks, looked on with apparent indifference to the massacre of Jews by Christians in Russia, worse than any Macedonian outrages on record. Recognizing all this, the Powers were not without consideration for the Sultan. They allowed certain slight modifications to the original scheme for the financial control of Macedonia. A Turkish representative is now to be included in the financial commission, and the commission's decisions are to be submitted to the Sultan for formal sanction. These modifications affect in no way the efficacy of the scheme, but are made to protect the Sultan's self-esteem and his claims for recognition of sovereign religious and temporal rights. He thereupon accepted the Powers' ultimatum, and their fleet promptly sailed away.

❀

Henry Harland Henry Harland, who died at San Remo, Italy, last week, was born in Norwich, Connecticut, in 1861. He received his early education at the College of the City of New York and at Harvard University, went to Europe, and lived in Rome and in London. At an early age he published several stories of Jewish life under the name of Sidney Luska, "As It Is Written" and "The Yoke of Torah" showing so exact a knowledge of Jewish custom and such intimacy with Jewish traits and character that many readers rushed to the conclusion that the author was a Hebrew by birth. His early work, which attracted a good deal of attention, included "Mrs. Peixada," "The Land of Love," "Grey Roses," "Comedies and Errors," and one or two other stories; but Mr. Harland made a great advance in workmanship and in popularity in the next series of tales which came from his hand —"The Cardinal's Snuff-Box," "The Lady Paramount," and "My Friend Prospero." The first of these stories was one of the most charming pieces of what may be called rococo work that has come from an American hand; essentially artificial, but done with the nicest feeling. It is to be compared only with Mr. Tarkington's "Monsieur Beaucaire." It is a romance of the purest kind, told with great delicacy of feeling and refinement of style, against a beguiling Italian background. The two succeeding stories, "The Lady Paramount" and "My Friend Prospero," were in the same vein and very much in the same manner. They established Mr. Harland's reputation as a writer of skill, charm, and with the faculty of enveloping his stories in an enchanting atmosphere. His early death ends a most promising career. Committed to literature at an early age by his tastes and education, the godson of Mr. Stedman, he seemed marked from the beginning for a long and harmonious development; for he had industry, persistence, and many charming qualities of character.

❀

Save the Adirondacks The Outlook recently received this interesting appeal:

A land company is preparing to lumber Seventh Lake Mountain (seventh lake in the middle branch of the Fulton Chain). This is one of those companies sweeping across the country like a tornado, leaving ruin and desolation in its wake. During the past year it ruthlessly destroyed a beautiful forest around Limekiln Lake.

Many years ago Seventh Lake Mountain was lumbered for pine, but there is left a fine growth of beech, birch, and maple, with some conifers. The company proposes to take away every tree over four inches. The

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woodsmen tell me that if this mountain is lumbered, and the dry tree-tops left, it will be merely a question of time when the State Preserve, which stretches to the north and east, will be swept by a disastrous fire. For this reason, and because this mountain is the chief water-shed of the lake, the State can condemn it legally. It is a small tract of land, and it will be overlooked unless we call the attention of the proper authorities to it.

This is not the only peril threatening New York's State Reserve. The rumor persists that, to benefit certain lumber and power interests, a proposition has been made to dam three Adirondack rivers and flood about a hundred thousand acres of public forest land. Now, by a hard and fast provision of the Constitution of New York State, the Adirondack Forest Reserve shall be "kept forever as wild forest lands." Moreover, in his last year's message Governor Higgins said: "The preservation of the wilderness . . . should, in my judgment, be encouraged, not only for the benefit of our own people, but for the purpose of attracting to our State the ever-growing army of sportsmen and pleasure-seekers." On the other hand, menacing the people of New York State and their Adirondack Forest Reserve is another army—that of paper-mill, pulp-mill, acid-mill, lumber-mill, and power-plant companies. These, in turn, control not only attoneys, but also paid politicians and leaders of party machines who are under obligations for campaign contributions. It is charged that these commercial companies have had their own men elected into the directorates of societies and associations for the preservation of forests and game, in order to bring about counter-influences; that they have given "retainers" to Assemblymen and Senators; that they have even tampered with State officers. Nearly five hundred companies obtain their raw material for pulp, wood-acid, excelsior, staves, heading, shoe-lasts, furniture, etc., from the mountain forests of New York State. The result is that the State's timber resources are being lessened at an unprecedented rate. Probably only a small minority of these companies do business by evasion. The appalling amount, however, of spruce, hemlock, and pine cut and consumed in the State last year not only shows that private forests have been destroyed without reforestation; it would also indicate a subtraction from public forests larger than has been reported. Between the two extremes is the average citizen, the real friend of the forest, who believes in its use, not in its negligence or in its abuse.

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The Irish Movement

Dr. Douglas Hyde, the head of the Gaelic movement in Ireland, described in The Outlook several months ago, is now in this country; and as he is a forceful and effective speaker, he is likely to engage the attention, not only of Irishmen, but of men of other nationalities who believe in the preservation of old things so long as they have any vitality or significance, and who think that the interest of the modern world depends largely on nations keeping their individuality. The Gaelic movement is not in any sense political or religious. It is a movement to preserve the race, literature, and legends of the Irish by preserving the language, music, songs, dances, traditions, and pastimes of the earlier generations, and to develop the old industries of Ireland; in a word, in no inimical spirit, to resist the Anglicization of the country. It has the support of Irishmen of the most opposite political policies, of Roman Catholics and Protestants, of the Orangeman in the north as well as of the Romanist in the south. The characteristics of the Celtic race are, as Dr. Hyde defines them, lightness, brightness, wit, fluency, readiness, the artistic temperament, while those of the English race are steadiness, perseverance, and business aptitude. It is to preserve those qualities which are the special gift of the Irish and ought to constitute their contribution to modern society by reviving their ancient tradition of language, literature, and life, that the Gaelic League is doing its work. Its practical effect is already seen in a marked vitalizing of industries in many parts of Ireland, in the spread of more intelligent methods of agriculture, in a gain in steadiness and industry. Six years ago, Dr. Hyde tells us, Gaelic was taught in about a hundred schools; to-day it is taught in three thousand schools, so that now a

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quarter of a million of Irishmen are studying the language and history of their fathers. In many towns the newspapers print columns of matter in Gaelic, and hardly a week passes that a book in Gaelic does not come from the press. This is a very interesting movement; its practical bearings are obvious.

❀

A New Year's Thought

To all who are worn by the toil and strain, the dust and heat, of the journey of life, who have found the places to which they have come with ache of body and of heart shorn of the beauty that enfolded them at a distance, there are no words more restful and reinvigorating than those of the Psalter: "All my fresh springs are in thee." In Him are the fountains of life which men are seeking far and wide over the face of the whole earth. It is separation from Him that brings the only old age which the spirit knows: the old age of skepticism, cynicism, weariness, and disgust; the old age which spread a gray pall over the Roman of the decadence, and which lies like a blight on a great deal of contemporary writing in fiction and the drama. The attempt, as old as time, to satisfy the soul by giving the senses all they ask for is failing in our time as disastrously as it has failed a thousand times before; and the weariness and cynicism which pervade the latest dramatic movement is another confession of the failure to tap the fountains of life by sinking wells in the dusty highways instead of seeking the springs in the cool, secret places where they flow in undiminished volume. There is no life save in Him, and without Him all paths become dusty and arid ways to death. Hope, joy, health, and peace are to be found only in His presence; and apart from Him there is no true life.

The New Year will find a host of men sad, unhappy, dissatisfied, seeking hither and thither for that rest of body and spirit which He alone can give. The world is full of restless, anxious, tired men and women who have lived on the highways instead of in the quiet places, and who, because they are choked and blinded by the dust, think all life arid and wearisome. Having lost all knowledge of the nature of love, they are following the phantom of happiness through the mire of divorce courts, and going with tragical blindness straight on to the deepest moral degradation and despair. Has any lesson been put on the blackboard in more appalling distinctness for the study of this generation than the folly of getting great wealth without virtue and honor! A score of men who once knew what it was to be trusted and respected are now dishonored and passed by with averted faces. They have brought disgrace upon themselves and shame on their country. Of what use is their money now that no man looks up to them? They are tasting the bitterness of life to the full, but have they not filled the cup with their own hands and lifted it to their own lips? They sunk their wells in the highway, and they are now sitting in dust and ashes.

The springs of life are love, honor, unselfishness, sympathy, kindness, and these are immortally young because they are in His keeping whose flowers bloom after every winter and whose service has been the joy of the noblest, the freest, and the happiest in every age. He is the health of the world, and all who lift their eyes to Him can be made whole. New Year's day is always and for every one a beginning. No matter what lies behind it of wasted life, of corruption and folly, there is always a future stretching away into the dim distance. The whole process of life is one of redemption, and those who have blasted their careers, stained their names, distorted their souls, and come at last to moral and spiritual bankruptcy, may still find in Him, against whom they have sinned most unpardonably, the peace and help and health which the world cannot give. A thousand thousand times men and women in all the hells which sin kindles have at last looked up and cried out to Him, and He has helped them out of their misery. To the miserable rich and the wretched poor, to the cynical learned and the vicious ignorant, to the respectable impure and the branded outcast, He opens the only gate to peace. Men have tried every other

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resource and found emptiness and despair; in Him alone are the springs which purify the body and the soul, renew the sinking vitality, bring back the last hope, and make men and women strong not only for toil but for joy. The New Year is the recurring symbol of the door which He holds open to cleanness, peace, and honor.

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Chinese Immigration

Mr. Chester Holcombe's volume, "The Real Chinese Question," is a recognized authority by an expert who is familiar with the facts and fearless in his application of American principles to the questions which those facts present. His article in this week's issue supplements and confirms the article in last week's issue by Dr. Doremus Scudder. The objections to Chinese immigration that the Chinaman is not a genuine immigrant, that he will not settle down and make a home, that he despises our customs, lives apart, and so remains a foreigner on American soil, and that he brings with him vices which corrupt and degrade the American people, are all sufficiently answered by the experience of Hawaii as Dr. Scudder has portrayed it. There are three, and, so far as we can see, only three, reasons for applying to the Chinese people any other methods of exclusion than those which are applied to European immigrants. These are: That the Chinese are a race whose intermixture with the Anglo-Saxon race by intermarriage is undesirable; that they come to this country under a contract system which makes them in fact servile laborers; and that their economic demands are so few that their coming inevitably lowers wages and so lowers the standard of living for large classes in our community. Let us consider these objections separately.

I. The first objection is thus stated by a correspondent of The Outlook in a private letter:

> It is the part of wisdom to discourage the immigration of any people who could not be considered, at least in the third generation, of sufficient equality to intermarry with the white people of our Nation. This qualification cannot be expected of the Chinese nor the Japanese, and I believe this view of the matter does not necessarily imply any disrespect for these Asiatic peoples.

We think this argument more plausible than sound. Nature does not need to be fortified and defended by law. If there is a race instinct against the intermarriage of Caucasians with Orientals, that race instinct may be left to assert and defend itself. The corruption of the race in the South by the intermixture of the black and white races was due, not to intermarriage, but to illicit intercourse. With the abolition of slavery that corruption of the blood has greatly diminished, and is in the way of almost entirely ceasing. Is this opposition to intermarriage a divine instinct or a causeless prejudice? If a divine instinct, in liberty it will adequately assert itself; if a causeless prejudice, in liberty, in time, it will die. We believe it to be a divine instinct, and as such we believe it is safe to trust it to protect itself. Different races have to live together on this planet; and to live, not one as master and the other as slave, not one as conqueror and the other as subject, but on terms of human brotherhood and in an atmosphere of liberty. The race problem is not more acute in the United States than in Africa and India. America has no more important mission to perform for the world than to teach how different races can thus live together without abandoning their racial peculiarities, as it has taught the world how different religionists can live together without abandoning their respective religions. This is a problem to be solved, not to be dreaded and avoided.

II. We have no doubt that the coolie system of labor is a form of servitude which no consideration should induce Americans to allow in the United States or in any territory subject to the authority of the United States. The coolie is hired out for a term of years; for that term his labor belongs to the contractor, generally a Chinese corporation. The introduction of this system into the United States would be in violation not only of the fundamental principles of the Republic, but of the explicit terms of the United States Con-

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stitution. So clear is this that the Attorney-General has officially affirmed that it would be in violation of the Constitution for the Government, or for contractors under the Government, to introduce such contract labor into Panama. Mr. Holcombe is of the opinion that no considerable attempt is now made to introduce such contract labor from China into the United States. How far the absence of such attempt is due to our stringent laws he does not state and we do not know. But the system of coolie labor has certainly not been abandoned by the Chinese. On the contrary, it is so much a part of the settled policy of China that the British Government in India has found it necessary to enact a carefully devised code of laws and to maintain a careful system of administration to protect such coolie immigrants in India from unjust treatment by their masters. So serious have been the labor difficulties which have followed the introduction of coolie labor into South Africa that the new Prime Minister of Great Britain has given instructions to prevent the further importation of coolie labor into that country. There are many American corporations which would be very ready to import and to use such coolie contract labor if the opportunity were once offered them. That it would be against the law, as it is against human freedom, would not be an incident of any weight in their judgment. The admission of any such servile labor under contract ought to be carefully guarded against. Mr. Holcombe says that the Chinese Government is opposed to such servile immigration and will co-operate with our own authorities to prevent it. The Outlook cannot doubt that with such co-operation this coolie contract labor could be prevented from coming to our country without closing the door to free individual immigration.

III. The third objection is that the admission of free Chinese labor will lower the standard of living by lowering the standard of wages. This objection is emphasized by two considerations.

The first is the demand in certain quarters for "cheap labor." America does not need cheap labor. Its prosperity is due to the fact that its labor is high-priced. The high-priced labor means the distribution of wealth, as cheap labor means the concentration of wealth; it means the diffusion of material prosperity, intellectual development, the means of culture and high ideals of life among all classes. Nowhere is property so well distributed; nowhere, therefore, is prosperity—material, intellectual, moral—so well distributed as in the United States. But we have not reached the limit of human progress toward the democratization of industry; and our legislation should be aimed to promote, certainly not to check, progress in that direction.

The second emphasis in this demand for the exclusion of cheap labor comes from our protective system. So long as we exclude cheap goods, we ought also to exclude cheap labor. The Outlook does not believe in the present protective system. It would be glad to see the country substitute for it the principle of "tariff for revenue only." But so long as a protective system is maintained, it ought to be maintained for the equal benefit of all classes as far as such equality is even approximately possible under a protective system. It ought to protect the farmer as well as the manufacturer, and the wage-earner as well as the capitalist. If the wage-earner may not import cheap goods from abroad, the capitalist should not be permitted to import cheap labor from abroad.

The Outlook, then, believes that it is legitimate to exclude the cheaper forms of labor from China. But to do this it is not necessary to insult China, to act as a Nation as though Chinamen were unworthy of associating with Americans on equal terms, and to build about our country, and especially upon our Pacific coast, a wall of racial prejudice, more enduring than the famous Chinese Wall, to prevent all free commercial and intellectual intercourse between these two great nations. Hitherto our Chinese immigration laws have been framed under the pressure of labor unions, reinforced by race prejudice. It is high time that commercial interests, reinforced by the American conscience, should take a part in framing them. Boards of Trade and Chambers of Commerce should take this matter up.

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The President's Message assures them of his support, but the matter lies with Congress, not with the President. It is to Congress that the appeal should be made; it is upon Congress that the urgency should be brought. The barbaric laws which Mr. Holcombe describes should be taken off from our statute-books. Honorable conference should be had by American statesmen with Chinese statesmen in an endeavor to come to some agreement—an agreement which, whatever else it should contain, should involve at least these principles:

1. The exclusion of all contract coolie labor as a form of servitude prohibited by our Constitution, not only in the United States, but in all our insular possessions as well.

2. Carefully guarded restrictions against the cheaper form of Chinese labor, even when coming voluntarily.

3. An open door and a free welcome to all classes of Chinese except those laborers whose coming threatens the American standards of living.

4. The examination of Chinese, as of all immigrants, at the place of departure, and the acceptance at the port of admission of properly authenticated certificates or passports as final and conclusive, except upon reasonable suspicion of fraud.

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Arizona and New Mexico

Committees both of the Senate and the House have recommended the admission of Arizona and New Mexico as one State. There are three objections to this measure.

1. The first is thus stated by the minority of the House Committee:

> It has long been a settled doctrine of American polity, founded in wisdom and justice, that a Territory of the Union is, upon organization, clothed with the inchoate right of ultimate Statehood—a right to be exercised in the discretion of Congress when the Territory is capable, by reason of its resources and population, to assume the duties and obligations of a free State. The denial of this right, the reversal of this policy, by an arbitrary exercise of power by Congress, in forcing an unnatural union of Territories against the will of their people, the forcible union of peoples distinct in customs, habits, manners, and religion, is ultra-radical and revolutionary.

It is probably true, historically, that the existence of a Territory has been taken to imply its eventual admission as a State. This is the precedent. But a precedent that is a blunder is better avoided than followed. And this precedent has been a blunder. It has given us pocket boroughs in the West. It has sent to the United States Senate men who owned the State which they were supposed to represent. It has given to scattered and small populations an exaggerated representation in the counsels of the Nation. Precedent does not count against principle. And The Outlook holds these two principles to be indisputable:

That no community has a *right* to be admitted as a partner into the partnership of States. Whether it is admitted or not depends upon the Nation's judgment of the National interests.

That the conditions on which any Territory or any portion or portions of any Territory of the United States are to be admitted into the Union are to be determined by the Nation, not by the pioneer population which happens at the moment to occupy the Territory.

In accordance with these principles, the question whether Arizona and New Mexico are to be admitted into the Union at all, and, if they are admitted, the question whether they shall be admitted as one State or as two, are to be determined by the Congress in view of the interests of the Nation, not by the people of the Territories in view of their real or supposed local interests.

II. The second objection comes from the people of Arizona. In the absence of any official and authoritative statement of that objection, we venture to state it ourselves. This is that the population and the interests of the two Territories of Arizona and New Mexico are divergent: the population of New Mexico is largely Spanish-American, that of Arizona native American; the industries of New Mexico are largely agricultural, those of Arizona mining; the commercial trend of New Mexico is toward the East, the commercial trend of Arizona is toward the Pacific Coast.

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This appears to us to be a stronger argument than that from precedent. And yet it is an argument that looks both ways. Too great homogeneity of population and of industrial interests is not desirable. The intermingling of the native American population of Arizona with the *quasi* foreign population of New Mexico would certainly be an advantage to New Mexico, probably an advantage to the United States, and not certainly any disadvantage to Arizona. The more quickly race prejudices and linguistic barriers are broken down, wherever they exist, the better; and, next to the public school, nothing breaks them down so surely as common political interests. That State is better off which has diversified industries than that which is dominated by one industry. And it is better for the Nation that one State should look with one face toward the Atlantic and the other toward the Pacific than that the dividing line of the continent should be the dividing line between two States. The first two principles are illustrated by New York State: its city population is foreign, its rural population is native American; its city industries are commercial, its rural industries are agricultural. In this diversity of its population and its industries lies the safety politically and the prosperity industrially of the Empire State.

III. The third objection to united Statehood is tersely and effectively stated by Mr. Walter Wellman in the Chicago "Record-Herald," not as his objection, but as one that is likely to have considerable influence in Washington, if it is not understood by the public and counterbalanced by a disinterested public sentiment:

> It seems rather strange that the rich mine-owners of Arizona should be here fighting Statehood, either single or joint, but the reason for it is not far to seek. They own the Territory now. They run it. They are lords of the estate. Naturally, they do not want to run any risks by a change to Statehood. These mining corporations have had things their own way all along the line, but in no particular so emphatically as in the assessed valuation of their property upon which they are called to pay taxes. For instance, the Tombstone Consolidated Mining Company is a corporation in Arizona that has put out $15,000,000 worth of bonds, of which amount $6,000,000 already have been sold. They bear interest at the rate of 6 per cent., and this interest has been promptly paid. This great property is assessed at $79,000. Then there is the United Verde Copper Company, mainly the property of Senator Clark, of Montana. It has been estimated that the copper mines owned by this company have been yielding about $10,000,000 annually for some years, and that there is $150,000,000 worth of ore now in sight. This almost inexhaustible mine of wealth is assessed at $312,923, and the company's buildings and machinery are assessed at $582,500, the total assessment being about equivalent to one month's income from the property.

The Outlook does not often publish newspaper reports not otherwise authenticated. But Mr. Wellman is a careful and trustworthy reporter; some of his statements here The Outlook has had an opportunity to verify from other sources; the insignificance of the tax paid by certain mines in Arizona is matter of public record and official report; and we are cognizant of the fact that at least in one case valuable stock was offered to a United States Senator without a hint of influence desired in return, stock which was promptly refused. That there is a very vigorous railroad and mining lobby in Washington engaged in fighting the Joint Statehood Bill is certain. We hardly think it will succeed.

To sum up: the issue between joint Statehood and separate Statehood for Arizona and New Mexico appears to us to be an issue between special interests and general interests. The special interests are those of the less than 200,000 people of Arizona who fear—whether with cause or without cause we do not discuss—lest they should be swallowed up by New Mexico, and those of certain railroads and mines the owners of which fear lest they should be taxed at approximately a fair valuation if Arizona and New Mexico are admitted as one State. The general interests are those of the people of the United States, who are or ought to be concerned not to increase the power of the Senate by giving to the less than 200,000 people of Arizona power to counterbalance in the counsels of the Nation the seven millions of New York, or the six millions of Pennsylvania, or the five millions of Illinois; who are even more interested not to increase the plutocratic power of

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the Senate by creating a new State which is dominated by a single industry and therefore would be easily dominated by a single capitalistic organization if not by a single capitalist.

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The Culture of Silence

Nothing could be more misleading than the impression, so widely held, that success in work depends entirely upon character and skill. These are two great elements, but there is a third, quite as important for the best results. Character is the foundation of all working power of the highest kind; skill is the quality which makes it possible to use the best tools in the best way; vivid interest and freshness of spirit are the atmosphere in which all work ought to be done and which ought to pervade and envelop all work. "As You Like It" rests on a solid basis of thought. The play is constructed and written with the highest kind of skill, but its charm lies very largely in the extraordinary freshness of feeling which pervades it, and which gives it the atmosphere of the forest and the joy of the free life. Americans rarely need to be urged to put more energy into what they do, and they are coming to understand, as they have never understood before, the necessity of doing their work with the skill which comes from thorough training. Many of them have yet to learn that while these qualities insure competency, they do not insure interest. Work done in a spirit of the highest integrity and in the most expert way is often entirely mechanical and uninteresting from lack of freshness, vivacity, and vividness of interest. One must not only plant his work on a solid basis of character, and do it with expertness, but he must keep alive that spirit of youth which Stevenson declared was the perennial spring of all the faculties. That modern men are beginning to understand this is evident from the wide popularity of such books as "The Simple Life," and kindred studies in repose, non-resistance, absence of haste, quiet adjustment between the worker, his task, and his surroundings.

Few people understand the drain on the nervous system which is caused by the noises of modern life—noises in no sense modern. There are no cities in the world which are more resonant with sound than Oriental towns, where at certain hours of the day and in certain localities there is not only an incessant murmur of human voices, but a chorus of loud, piercing cries. The little towns in Europe and the smaller English cities are like babbling brooks when evening comes and the people fill the streets. Paris is, all things considered, the noisiest city in the world. There has come into modern life a greater variety of sound and a greater volume than assailed the ears of our ancestors. Now, to keep one's freshness there ought to be a zone of silence around every human being during some part of every day. It is significant that the great religions of the world have come out of silence and not out of noise; and the finest creative work is done, as a rule, in seclusion; not necessarily apart from men, nor in solitary places, but away from the tumult and away from distracting sounds. It is in silence alone that we come into possession of ourselves. The noises of life disturb us as a cloud of dust intervenes between the eye and the sky. There ought to be a cult for the practice of silence—a body of men and women committed to the preservation of the integrity of their souls by neither hearing nor making speech for certain periods, pledged to the culture of the habit of quietness. Maeterlinck has pointed out the fact that the best things are never spoken, and the truest intercourse between congenial spirits is carried on without words. If we said less and thought more, there would be far fewer things to explain, many sources of irritation would be dried up at the sources, and the prime cause of irritation, which is nervous exhaustion or excitement, would be removed. There was organized in Paris, years ago, a society for the culture of silence. On the occasion of the initiation of a distinguished man of letters, a bowl of water was brought out to him in a room where he was waiting in solitude. He studied it a moment, placed a rose upon it, and sent it back. The water bore the rose without overflowing.

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To the members assembled in another room, the act was the most convincing evidence that the initiate comprehended the purpose of the fellowship, and was prepared in spirit to become one of the company. The act was a symbol which Americans may wisely study.

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The Spectator

The Spectator has for many years lived in the country, yet it was his good fortune to be born within urban limits and thereby escape too great a familiarity with country sights and sounds. Art students, and artists too, have much to say concerning the freshness of the eye, meaning by that merely the ability to see, for it is a fact that very few of us ever see anything with which we are familiar. Though it be the fashion of the poets to represent the country boy as filled with rapture due to the beauty of the sky, the woods, the fields, yet it is to be doubted whether the barefoot boy born to fellowship with the fields ever knows their beauty. The Spectator, fortunate enough to find novelty in all the varying pageant of the eye, would like to give to his readers some idea of nature's abundance and variety in spectacular effects—of the thousand and one beauties peculiar to each season. While many of these are the stock-in-trade of the poets and nature-writers, others, equally admirable, because they are unseen or because they are not the conventional beauties, remain unnoticed.

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The Spectator has often wondered that those who are unable to give themselves more than a single annual outing should choose midsummer for the time of their recreation. He feels that it would be far better to bear the summer ills we have in cities and fly to beauties of the country that midsummer visitors know not of. The late fall, for instance, while making no claim to compete with the glories of color that belong to early autumn, yet wears an ashes-of-roses garb that in its delicate fawn, drab, gray, and russet hues has a modest beauty of middle age appealing to deeper sentiments than those stirred by the giddier hues of the preceding days.

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But it is not of the half-tints the Spectator wishes to speak. He doubts whether, indeed, the charm of the season is one that appeals wholly to the eye and is therefore properly within the Spectator's domain. The late fall suggests, rather, the long days of half-invisibility when all the air is charged with smoky vapor and the ground beneath one's feet looks like a land accursed, a very abomination of desolation. The Spectator has made many attempts to find out why the falling leaves must be burned. The difficulty is not to learn an alleged reason, but to select among the many that are offered. Whether the burning is for safety, for improvement of the soil, for the destruction of insects, or comes from mere wantonness or carelessness, he has never been able to decide. He knows only that the late fall days in the dry season are signalized by long devouring lines of conflagration, advancing like a swarm of locusts, and leaving behind them the blackened, mourning, desolate soil. The Spectator himself is not without the same destructive instinct that affects his neighbors. He shares their joy in beginning by a mere atom of flame that almost magical, automatic, chemical action which makes the thickly bedded curling mass of leaves to vanish into a powdery ruin that seems hardly more than the remnant of a vision.

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The Spectator has not wandered from his subject—the city man's perception of beauties overlooked by the country dweller. Who has ever seen the fairy-like beauty of the ghostly wraiths of the burned leaves that emerge from the traveling flame and live but until the next whiff of breeze crumbles them to nothingness? Even the exquisite beauty of the first delicate outcroppings of the spring foliage seems coarse and rude when compared with these fairy ghosts of the forest's suttee. And during the passing of the flame there are few things more beautiful than a distant view of a burning field, where the night exaggerates every little tongue of flame until

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one dreams of the great prairie fires before which affrighted settlers fled, or where the midday brings out the exquisite color harmony between the soft bluish hazy smoke and the russet browns of the underbrush or withered grass below. The interplay of the blues and the browns is strongly reinforced by the thin orange and scarlet line of the flame army. To an eye blessed with an unspoiled color sense, all these contrasts and harmonies are precious feasting, rich beyond compare when one recalls the dull monotony of the midsummer green.

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Nor does the eye alone rejoice in the warfare with the falling vegetation. There is keen pleasure in the fight to keep the destroying element within bounds. To rush upon the demon flame armed with no more deadly weapon than an old hay-rake, or perhaps a branch picked up from the ground, is to contend with nature face to face. To pursue the recurrent flame into its nooks and crannies, to engage in a hotly contested race to see whether you can stop the enemy's onward rush before it gains a point of vantage giving it command of the next field, is to enjoy the very lust of battle without its cruelty. Often has the Spectator led his little band of two or three faithful followers to the combat with an almost hopeless feeling of inadequacy. But if it be not wrong to boast, again and again has he vanquished the enemy and felt the keen glow of a well-earned triumph as he set his foot upon the last surviving spark.

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The Spectator is not prepared to say that, if he had remained within his study immersed in some useless bit of forgotten literature, the leaf fires would have reached alarming dimensions or devastated vast districts. He has in vain tried to convince his neighbors that a flame is a flame although it burns nothing more than a dried leaf; the countryman's idea seems to be that dried leaves may safely be left to burn themselves out, and in this dogma he remains fixed despite an occasional proof to the contrary. Fighting leaf fires is one of those harmless means of acquiring one's share of clean dirt that the Spectator is loth to give up. There is joy in returning triumphant from the smoldering field bedecked in the war-paint of leaf charcoal, bearing upon one's clothing uncounted captives in the form of "sticktights," and with a hearty appetite for the next meal, that is but little marred by the very evident flavor of carbon in the throat.

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For the benefit of younger warriors the Spectator would say that in his experience no weapon is more effective than a big wooden hay-rake. It has a wide sweep and a comprehensive grasp before which burning leaves shrink back appalled. He is told, however, by those who in the wild West or from the lore of Government reports have acquired more of the wisdom of our fathers in such matters, that there is no means of extinguishing brush fires to compare with a well-wetted gunny-sack. The scientific warriors of the Government in the Forestry Department, so the Spectator has learned, recommend this weapon; but if the Spectator were younger, he would not be afraid to enter a competitive contest using his war-worn hay-rake as against the more sophisticated gunny-sack of some worthy adversary.

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The Spectator wonders whether there is anything abroad to correspond with this annual warfare waged in America against the knee-deep piles of fallen leaves. He also wonders why some clever inventor has not hit upon a method of compressing this most serviceable fuel into bricks of kindling. Just as the English author of "Happy Thoughts" confides to his readers that he often "hums over beautiful original oratorios while he is brushing his hair," the Spectator is willing to admit that he often has these brilliant economic ideas that need only a little working out in detail to become blessings to humanity. But of course no one would expect a mere Spectator to devote his time and energies to all those minor steps that precede the realization of a brilliant invention.

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THE SIMPLE LIFE IN AMERICA

BY CHARLES WAGNER

Translated by Mary L. Hendee

WHEN I had my first vision of Titanic America, personified in its prodigious buildings, its commercial undertakings, the fever of its daily affairs, its gigantic manufactories, the luxurious living of some of its social classes and their costly eccentricities, I saw myself, with my ideal of simplicity, not as an anachronism—for simplicity is eternal; it was before the complicated life, and will be after that is done—but I saw myself in a situation like that of a lark which, instead of soaring above golden harvests, under the great dome of the blue sky, should sing its song in smoky cities, in gloomy caverns, or—what is another sort of misfortune—in a cage with golden bars. The contrast was violent and painful. Surely I was bringing with me the message of a way of life very different from that revealed in this forced civilization, glittering with wealth or tarnished with squalid poverty, that seemed to be rushing with all its might toward the conquest of material welfare. Some evenings, when I faced an exclusive audience brilliant with elaborate toilettes and gleaming jewels, a deep sadness penetrated my soul at the idea that what was the very substance and marrow of my thought might be serving as a moment's distraction for a jaded curiosity.

But, getting down to the heart of things, I found that my pessimistic impressions could not stand in the face of more encouraging experiences. Among the waifs and strays of the Bowery Mission, as well as with the flower of American society, following a method that has become a second nature to me, I went straight to the human center. Luxury and want are alike surface accidents; the man is to be sought underneath them; we must not dwell upon superficialities, but turn straightway to the substance; and the fundamental substance of "the better America" is simplicity.

Certain English, German, and French journals tell us that the distinctive badge of American life is artificiality; but that is to judge men's hearts by the coats they affect, and their ideas by the cut of their hair. And some critics have held that the interest taken by the American public in "The Simple Life" and its ideas is pure snobbery, the result of caprice, without seriousness or sincerity. All this comes from a partial and imperfect judgment. A man's deformity is not his person; a facial blemish is not a face. An artificiality that is very obvious, and from many points of view offensive, floats, it is true, like froth, on the surface of American life; but the sea-foam is not the sea. Pilgrim of a day on the American shores, I went there with eyes and heart wide open, drinking in at all the pores of my mental and moral sensibilities those signs which the habit of observing men has taught me to discern. I looked at things as a man does who sees a country for the first time, and is prepared to receive shocks the more painful, or experience emotions the purer and more joyous, on that account.

Yet I was not to observe as a stranger, for it never enters my mind to so consider either myself or any one else; from my standpoint, nobody, nothing, is foreign. I do, indeed, belong to my own country, and I belong to it for good and all; but I also belong to that great Family out of love for which we wish all nations and all men well. With this disposition, I was, it seems to me, in the best of conditions to observe justly; and here I give my impressions.

The artificial and complicated life that prevails in America to a disquieting degree does not belong to the American character. It is accidental, but it constitutes a danger, and one of the greatest dangers the country could run; for in allowing herself to be drawn into a life of superficiality, a life forgetful of the soul and scornful of simplicity, America,

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perhaps more than any other nation, is unfaithful to her nature, that higher nature wherein lies the secret of her power and the explanation of her existence among the nations—the very sinew and spring of her splendid vitality. This is the fact that struck me in my quality of friend; and, perceiving the danger, it was with brotherly distress that I searched for all the good signs which might lead to the hope that it would be removed. An evil recognized is often half vanquished; and when, by close observation, a man perceives that he runs the risk of missing the aim of his life through his irregular way of living it, he is very near to changing his methods. Ships follow their pilots, and their pilots follow the compass; nations have for compass their faith and their ideals. America's true ideal is the realization of a beautiful life, inspired by concern for the best things; of a broadly human life, energetic and benevolent, powerful and pacific, in which conscience never loses its rights. Beneath the restlessness that has taken possession of the whole great territory a secret trouble is clearly perceptible; not equally so in all cases, of course, especially among the new and imperfectly assimilated masses of the population, that enter as a great disturbing factor into the life of the whole; but wherever we encounter representative Americans, men who love their country and have a care for the public welfare, this secret uneasiness comes to light. It has no similarity to the senile perturbation which class egoism and the fear of innovation inspire in peoples long established; but it is akin to that amiable and salutary fear of forfeiting esteem which animates generous youth and makes itself evident even through youth's impetuosity.

In what is the best of her, America loves the life that is genuine and substantial, the life in which the things most highly valued are moral qualities, uprightness, energy, and kindness, as well as those fundamental family sentiments that are the cement of society. She knows that a nation lives neither by gold, nor by armies, nor by industrial prosperity, but that all these things, in so far as they are good and legitimate, are conducive to certain fundamental virtues without which humanity could never advance. If the source of these virtues be quenched, the whole splendid exterior of a civilization soon becomes nothing more than a luxuriant fruitage that is doomed to decay.

This is what the best of the American people feel so poignantly at the present time; and happily these "best" are not an over-refined and scattered minority, lost in the midst of decadent masses that no longer possess any motive forces save the ferments of their own decomposition. They are a countless and compact phalanx of upright men, clear-sighted and resolute, impressible and fearless, possessing, in a word, all the qualities of a powerful leaven that is capable of penetrating and leavening the whole.

These elements of public health belong to the old and authentic tradition of American democracy, wherein respect for the past, a normal conservatism, and courage and ardor for the future are mingled in such happy proportions. I was never better aware of this than when I crossed the threshold of Independence Hall in Philadelphia, one of the National sanctuaries. Built at the very seat of the cradle of American liberties, and dating from the heroic period of American history, it saw those assemblies in which, amid the most thrilling events, the future of the American Nation was decided. Surrounded by objects, insignificant in themselves, that have become popular relics; within the walls that once listened to the speech of the fathers and now murmur it in the ears of the children; before portraits of the men who made America, I felt the most intense religious emotion. I seemed to be treading on sacred ground. Some of the purest treasures of the new humanity had been elaborated there, in the crucible of a great struggle, in the furnace of situations in which men and nations are purified like gold. And the whole environment was that of a patriarchal, a heroic simplicity. Out of the elements there gathered into a focus *the heart of America* is made, and when once you grasp this clue you may follow it everywhere throughout the web of the National life.

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This tradition is not a pious souvenir, a sort of lifeless relic, to be brought out of its shrine on great occasions only; it has a part in all the acts and all the interests of life. It is a *leitmotiv*, constantly reappearing in the great symphony in which the soul of the people is interpreted. And this National disposition explains the effect "The Simple Life" produced in the midst of Americans. What the President did for this book he did in the character of a typical American; and if his word, beloved and authoritative as it is, had in this case so profound and persistent an echo, it was because the minds of his fellow-countrymen were good ground for the reception of the message. In spite of all appearances to the contrary, both by tradition and by temperament, America loves simplicity. She knows what she owes to it; she feels that if she should escape from the influence of this vital and regenerative force, the scepter would depart from her. She takes account of the fact that young and powerful nations become contaminated with startling rapidity when in contact with the corruption to which long habitude has accustomed older civilizations.

Her best traditions, and the best of her sons to-day, put faith in the power of simplicity, while her peculiar genius and her tastes incline her the same way. In all these things America has an assurance of victory in the moral crisis of the present time. And, in addition, the education of her youth rests upon principles and methods that inspire the mind with disdain for vanities and sophisticated pleasures. If she brings about a reaction, as she might do, and as she is doing already in no small degree, against the excessive repute that has been given to wealth, and against the social usurpation that tends to make it king instead of the servant it should be; if she takes every opportunity to rehabilitate and honor the men of modest means who know how to attain independence and happiness by limiting their desires; if the conviction spreads that pomp and state are a kind of slavery, that ostentation is a proof of stupidity, and irrational expenditure a social error, there is no doubt that the future belongs to the better America.

For her the message of simplicity is not a reactionary cry; no one who takes the trouble to understand its significance mistakes that. He sees in it an appeal to discernment and vigilance, to a regard for the fundamental hygienic laws proper to the human creature. We are consumed by our parasitic needs, that we have multiplied without reason or limit, and by those ideas, unbefitting men, which tend to make us look upon ourselves as ephemeral; as dust returning to dust; as called to a life of the most incessant pleasure possible, which we may seek to attain by any means, however barbarous and anti-fraternal. The simple life appeals to us to rid ourselves of these parasites, to shake off this dire and unnatural mental state, and to restore to the place of honor the true semblance of ourselves. This is the cry of alarm I raised in America, the cry I raise everywhere.

It matters little what country we inhabit, what language we speak, what religious and social faith we profess; we are all in need of conversion to simplicity; we all risk losing our life by the absurd fashion in which we order it. When secondary things are ranked with essentials, the artificial and conventional with the natural and real, all the outward splendor with which our life may be surrounded is only a magnificent setting for nothingness.

Political, religious, and social institutions; science, industry, and education, the whole sum of human toil and effort, should contribute to make man more broadly human; but, unless we take care, all these things, instead of being instrumental for the realization of more justice and the introduction of more order and happiness into the brotherhood of men, will become a hindrance and a bondage. Man succumbs under the weight of his own deeds, weakened and degraded by his own misdirected forces, his instincts turned to vices, his knowledge to an agent of death, his faith to fanaticism, his well-being to degeneracy—every function, private or public, diverted from its end.

People often assume to tell us that we are descendants of the ape, and there are some who take a shocking pleasure in the idea, while others find it distress-

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ing beyond measure. For myself, I think it no matter for either gratification or disturbance. I have somewhere said that I would willingly be an ant, if I might be an ant after God's heart; the paths of the Eternal stretch from the dust to the Spirit. The distance is tremendous, and there must needs be many humble stages by the way. Is there anything strange about that? It matters little to me what path I follow, if only it leads upward.

What we need to be concerned about is not an ape at the beginning of the line—our problematical ancestor, at most—but an ape at the end, a hideous product to be evolved in time out of our errors, by "natural selection." To descend from apes and become men is progress, and what progress! but to be humanity, to have given birth to Moses, to Plato, to Christ; to have overcome the elements, chained the thunder to our chariots, and made the lightning our messenger, and then to return to the level of the brutes, in the ferocity of our feelings, the lowness of our instincts, the obscurity of our intellects—what a casting out into darkness! But this could never be! Let us raise our resolutions to the height of another destiny. Humanity sometimes loses her way, but her thirst always brings her back to the pure springs of the true and simple life.

CHINESE EXCLUSION AND THE BOYCOTT[1]

BY CHESTER HOLCOMBE

Formerly Secretary of the American Legation at Peking, and member of the Chinese Immigration Commission of 1880

IT is not advisable to reckon overmuch upon the reports, received from our Legation and consulates in China, to the effect that the boycott against American goods established there has proved a failure and been abandoned. Nor should any great results be expected either from the visits of Secretary Taft to various commercial centers of the Empire, or from the Imperial command issued, it is said, at the personal request of President Roosevelt. The dictum of the Emperor in such a matter, amounting to an attempted interference with the personal affairs and determination of the great commercial class, will have as much effect as a like order issued by our National Chief Executive under similar conditions would have here, and no more. There are certain things which the head of a great nation, be he an unrestrained despot or the leader of a self-governing people, is powerless to accomplish, and one of these is to force his subjects or fellow-citizens to trade where they do not choose, or to spend their money in manner or direction to which they are hostile. The boycott will cease some time after the causes which produced it have ceased to operate, and not sooner.

It is, perhaps, possible to bring about the formal abandonment of the organized boycott, the framework merely of the discriminative action against trade with this country, as it is possible to disperse an Anarchist meeting here or a traitorous secret society in China. But the really important work of the organization has been accomplished; the word has been passed and accepted, from one end of the Empire to the other, to discriminate against American products as, and because, we discriminate against Chinese in a variety of ways; the manufacturers of Europe, and perhaps of Japan, with possibly the influence of their several governments behind them, will, from selfish motives, seize every opportunity to foment the feeling and deepen the resentment, and thus, without sign of a formal boycott, the real boycott will continue with increasing activity.

There are certain facts or principles

[1] Editorial discussion of this general subject will be found on another page.—THE EDITORS.

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patent to every intelligent person upon sober second thought, so plain, indeed, as to be mere commonplaces, which still may well be repeated and applied here. Trade cannot be forced, or its course or channel determined, by Imperial decrees, or other acts of government, against the will of those directly concerned in it. One could as easily suppress all feeling of resentment, for real or fancied wrong, by an act of Congress. Peace, fair play, and mutual kindly feeling are essential prerequisites to the existence and healthy development of any international commerce. Legislative injustice is only less fatal to traffic with an outside nation affected by it than active war would be. Rivalry and competition between the various manufacturing and exporting nations of the world, each seeking to gain a controlling interest in commerce, are as keen and bitter as between two merchants in the same line of business in a country village, and each may safely be relied upon to lose no opportunity to advance its own interests at the cost of every other. Our Government would be not a little surprised could it know to what an extent this scheme of a boycott of American products has been encouraged—if it was not originally suggested—by foreign merchants of other nationalities, not because of any prejudice against us upon their part, but because they have their own wares to sell. And it may be said in passing that these several facts or principles apply with peculiar importance to us, since our products, excepting those of which we have a practical monopoly, are naturally handicapped by a higher cost, coupled, it is true, with a higher quality and value.

To sum up and apply the preceding paragraph in a single sentence: The attempt to coerce or cajole the merchants of China into continued and increasing commercial dealings with us, so long as the present bitter feeling of resentment remains prevalent among them and their fellow-countrymen, and the cause of it remains, is a useless waste of effort. The Chinese are not fools, and now that the ball has been set in motion and they have found an effective mode of retaliation, so long as we discriminate against, abuse and insult their people, they will, with or without a formal boycott, continue to discriminate against our wares, and avoid, so far as may be possible, all commercial dealings with us. After long patience, they have found at last that two can play the game; and what fair-minded man, even though he be a politician, shall blame them if they take a hand, seeking thereby to right the manifest injustice under which they and their people have suffered for more than twenty years? Our ancestors of Revolutionary memory understood the boycott and applied it against British-owned Chinese tea in 1773; why should not the Chinese make use of it now? They are not bound to purchase our wares, and why should they continue to be our customers so long as we continue to deal unfairly with them? Looking at the fact, as furnished by the most reliable information to be obtained, American commerce appears to have reached a period of decadence in China from which it will not recover unless and until we are prepared to interject a reasonable measure of the principles of the Golden Rule into our dealings, political as well as commercial, with them.

For racial and other reasons which need not be named, the Chinese are slow to move either in the direction of enmity or friendship. Their experiences with the European world have not been altogether happy, and it has required many years and much patience to develop in them a faculty of discrimination between the peoples of that continent and ourselves, and to convince them of our just and good intentions. For all reasons, ones commercial as well as others of a higher class, the people of this land ought not, cannot afford, now to lose that which is of unquestionably great value to them, and which has been so slowly won. It is assuredly desirable, at this stage in the development of feelings of resentment and active hostility toward America among Chinese in all parts of the world, to determine with some care, and exactly, the causes of those feelings, and to discover what may reasonably be done by us to remove them, and to renew the attitude of trustful friendliness which formerly existed. This *must* be done if

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we are to regain and extend our valuable commerce with the hundreds of millions who constitute the empire of China.

In order to give a fairer general view of the entire situation, it may be well to state at the outset that the stipulation in an earlier treaty between the United States and China which prevented legislation, either State or National, against Chinese labor was inserted at our request, and was intended to prevent any interference by the Emperor of China with the coming of his people to this land. So much, thanks to Denis Kearney and his following, had the United States shifted its principles and policy within less than a score of years.

It is universally, and correctly, understood that the feelings of irritation and resentment everywhere rife and working disastrous results in China have their single and only cause and justification in certain special legislation—always a mistake, by the way—in the enactment and enforcement of certain statutes and regulations aimed solely at such of their people as may seek to enter or reside within the jurisdiction of the United States. With our general immigration laws they find no fault. The Chinese Government and people alike realize the wisdom of and cordially indorse the exclusion of paupers, criminals, insane persons, and other undesirable classes of immigrants from these shores, and there is no record of any attempt to unload upon us any such Chinese. As much can hardly be said of the national or local authorities of more than one European State. Nor is there sufficient proof to sustain an assertion still made that the Chinese violate our prohibition against the admission of contract labor to any appreciable extent. Doubtless there are individual cases of such violation, as there are among immigrants coming from every land i Europe. The Chinese Government is on record as strongly opposed to every form of immigration of its people to any foreign parts under contract, as can readily be proved; and the writer risks nothing when he asserts that, if invited, it will heartily co-operate with our own authorities in the measures necessary to eradicate this evil, if it be found to exist. There exists, probably, a small amount of "assisted immigration" among Chinese who come to this country, as, again, will be found to be the case among immigrants from every part of Europe. In such cases, a Chinaman, desiring to come to this country but lacking funds, borrows the small sum—some $50—needed for a steerage passage, and engages to repay the debt by installments from wages earned here. It is purely an individual transaction, with which the Government has nothing to do. It is manifestly liable to abuse, and the Chinese authorities years ago pointed out the way to suppress it. Yet cases of assisted immigration among Chinese are so rare as to be undeserving of notice.

The principle of restrictive legislation in regard to immigration has not been objected to by the Government or people of China, and will not be if it bears equally and with even hand upon people of all nations. But when such legislation becomes discriminative to their disadvantage, when by it we brand them, notably quiet, orderly, and industrious, as alone unfit to enter our ports, and a menace to the peace and order of our communities, then we tread upon dangerous ground. When we go a step farther, as we have, and substitute abusive treatment by Government officials, shielded by legal enactment, for abusive treatment by mobs, then the Chinese were first surprised, then indignant, then resentful, and at last, after twenty years of patience, they determined upon some form of reprisal. And this has taken shape and force in the boycott of American wares. As one of their own number, abundantly qualified to speak for them, has said, "China has at last learned that there are certain fundamental principles of dignity and right which no self-respecting nation can well sacrifice. It seems she will now uphold those principles." "What country on earth will submit for a moment to such unfair, insulting discrimination!"

This intimates that in future China will insist upon the principles embodied in the "favored nation" article of our existing treaties with her, and upon reciprocity of treatment. To the first she already has a right, yet a right which has been violated by us at every point,

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Speaking to the fact, there is no relationship whatever between the stipulations found in our immigration treaties with China and the Acts of Congress which enforce Chinese labor exclusion, and which could never have been passed but for those treaties. The briefest comparison will make this evident, to our shame. The treaty of 1880, which alone is now in force, provided that the United States should have the power to "regulate, limit, or suspend the immigration of Chinese laborers, but not to prohibit it altogether; that Chinese laborers already in the United States should be free to remain, and to travel to and from it at will; that all other classes of Chinese should be at liberty to enter and reside within the country, and pursue their avocations without molestation; and that Chinese of every class, while within the United States, should be granted all the rights, privileges, and immunities of citizens or subjects of the most favored nation." This last is the "most favored nation" article. And it was further stipulated that any action taken by the United States under and by virtue of the treaty should be "reasonable in character." This treaty was proclaimed, and thus became a part of the supreme law of the land, October 5, 1881.

Under pretext of giving effect to it, a law "suspending" all Chinese immigration for a term of twenty years was passed in March, 1882, which was promptly vetoed by President Arthur, upon the ground that "suspension" for such a term was prohibition, which was specifically forbidden in the treaty. He might have added that the Government had no power to "suspend" "all Chinese immigration," but only that of laborers. In May of the same year another law was passed, and signed, which suspended all labor immigration for a term of ten years, permitted those here to remain, and forbade the naturalization of Chinese. This last was in direct violation of the "favored nation" article in the treaty, and hence illegal and invalid. This Act contained many other stipulations which were manifestly unreasonable, and also in conflict with the "favored nation" rights of the Chinese. Thus, no Chinese laborer who had revisited his native land could return unless he possessed, in this country, a living wife, parent, or child, or real estate to the value of one thousand dollars. In 1888 this was further amended by striking out all permission to return here, forbidding the issue of certificates granting the privilege, and declaring those already in the hands of Chinese invalid. Under the operations of this amendment many Chinese, among whom were wealthy merchants who had secured certificates and revisited China, found themselves forced to sacrifice their property in this country and to remain on the other side of the Pacific. A literal trap had been sprung upon them by the authority of the United States. It is quite unnecessary to remind the reader that this disgraceful act was in violation of a specific pledge contained in the treaty, and hence wholly illegal.

Subsequently other acts and amendments were passed, each, if possible, more degrading to the Chinese and outrageous upon our part than its predecessors. Any Chinaman found in the country without warrant to be here was to be punished by a year's imprisonment with hard labor; any ship captain who landed such a Chinese in any port was subject to fine, imprisonment, and the confiscation of his vessel; under pretext that our officials could not discriminate one Chinaman from another, each was required to provide two or more photographs of himself, one copy of which should always be carried with him for purposes of identification. This is only a fraction of the scandalous legislation adopted and aimed against inoffensive Chinese, whose only crime was a desire to seek a livelihood in this land, to which great masses of less desirable immigrants from other countries were flocking without restraint or hindrance. And the regulations under these various acts, taken with the spirit of abuse and brutality in which they were enforced, form a fitting climax to the shameful record. There is no occasion to search further for the causes of Chinese resentment.

If we choose to look facts squarely in the face, we are forced to admit that the whole course of National legislation upon this subject has been illegal, abusive,

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insulting, and without any excuse of necessity in its relation to the Chinese. As an exposition of the abilities, sound judgment, and just spirit of our National lawmakers, it exhibits a spirit of panic, of willful disregard for grave international interests, and of crass ignorance of even the commoner obligations under which each civilized nation must remain, which is a reproach and a humiliation. The explanation of such scandalous legislation is close at hand. Substantially each act of Congress and amendment bearing upon this subject has had a member of Congress from California as its author. And each enactment represents, not the sound judgment, experience, and wisdom of a statesman, but the yell of the Sand Lot hoodlums of San Francisco, whose obsequious servants—in search of votes—these representatives have been. Wiser and abler public servants in the Senate and House of Representatives have held their peace and allowed or aided in the passage of these iniquitous bills, probably without even making the slight investigation which would demonstrate their serious disagreement with the treaty, for the sake of the control, by the party, of the majority vote of the Pacific States.

The various points of irritation which have aroused the feeling of resentment and promoted the boycott may be summarized and catalogued as follows: The discrimination against Chinese as compared with the treatment of immigrants of other nationalities; an inexact and unjust definition of the term "laborer," by which it is, in practice, made to cover all classes of Chinese who may seek to enter the United States; habitual violation of the favored nation article of the treaty; unjust, illegal, and inhuman treatment of Chinese subjects at ports of entry and within the territory of the United States by officers of the law. To these must be added another to which but little attention has been given in this country, but which there is reason to believe has had much to do with bringing matters to a crisis. It is the extension of the Exclusion Act to Hawaii and the Philippine Islands.

To the question what may reasonably be done by us to remove existing animosities, with their sequence, the boycott, and to renew the earlier attitude of confidence and friendship, the wisest answer is the simplest as well as the most radical. Abandon the entire system of discrimination against Chinese labor immigration. Deal with all labor immigration as a single question, making no exemptions and no discrimination. Unless the intelligent, sober-minded citizens of this Nation are ready to see it overloaded with an immense mass of unassimilated and to a large extent indigestible aliens of the lowest, most ignorant and undesirable classes, the time has fully come when severely restrictive legislation must be had. Either stop or check to moderate volume the flood of unskilled labor from all countries. Raise the immigrant standard; require brains, at least partially educated, as well as bone and muscle, in all those who would seek a future with us. By carefully considered and wise legislation in this direction we may at once protect our own interests, abandon the inherently vicious scheme of discriminative legislation, unworthy of any great nation, and remove every cause of complaint which the Government and people of China have against us.

If this Nation is not yet sufficiently wise or brave to do this, there are other measures within our reach, less radical, which will yet go far toward relieving the just resentment of the Chinese, and which they have a plain right to demand of us. The restriction treaty in itself aroused no feeling of enmity, though it contains no equivalent concession. None was asked. It was not a bargain, but a gift most courteously bestowed upon this Nation by the Government of China. It frankly acknowledged that it could not understand the motive or assumed necessity which caused us to make the request; nor, for that matter, could we. Had we looked carefully into the matter, we should have been ashamed to make such a confession of National weakness and incompetence as was involved in it. But it was granted readily, because the stipulations which it contained were carefully guarded in order to protect the Chinese in their rights, and because their authorities had full

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confidence that any legislation taken by us would be in close conformity with the terms and spirit of the treaty. It is claiming little to insist that it ought to have been a peculiar point of honor with us to justify their confidence in this matter. To what an extent we have failed has already been shown. Though late, it is still possible to undo to a large extent the injustice of the past, but something more tangible and of practical value than smooth promises and assurance of moderate enforcement of existing laws and regulations will be necessary. They should be abandoned and repealed and others enacted which shall be moderate, reasonable, and in strict conformity to the terms of the treaty upon which they are based. We have too long insulted the Chinese in the enforcement of laws bearing heavily and unjustly upon their people—laws which would never have stood the test of our own Supreme Court had they been carried before that body.

Other changes, more in the line of detail, yet of imperative necessity, must be made. A clear understanding and agreement should be had with the Chinese Government upon the scope and interpretation of the word "laborer." In the Chinese text, by which alone their authorities are guided, the limitations of the word are clear and unmistakable. Yet the application of it here, to accomplish the exclusion of their people from our shores, has been at once erratic and absurd. To a large extent, in practice, the word has been regarded by our officials as synonymous with "Chinaman." Further, it should be distinctly understood and fully recognized in the application of our immigration laws and regulations to individual cases that all Chinamen within the jurisdiction of the United States stand upon precisely the same footing with aliens of every other nationality. The "favored nation" article of the treaty distinctly binds us to this, and yet, in practice, they are robbed of their "rights, privileges, and immunities" at every point. We cannot afford to maintain a permanent attitude of such flagrant injustice toward them. To take a single example: Why should Chinese in this land be compelled constantly to carry passports and "photographs of identification" upon their persons, to avoid arrest and imprisonment? We have no such absurd rule against any other foreigner, and hence the requirement is in violation of the favored nation article. Similar petty annoyances and robberies of the rights and privileges of the Chinese could be cited almost without limit, and instances of injustice, treaty violation, and childish impertinence toward those who have a perfect right to be among us, sufficient to fill a large volume.

Another change, somewhat radical in character, is here suggested, which would go far towards removing every reasonable complaint, if coupled with the changes already proposed. It would also relieve our officials here of duties which they have both confessed and demonstrated their unfitness and incapacity to perform. Transfer this entire business of determining who are and who are not entitled to admission to this country, under the terms of our treaty with China, supplemented by our laws, to the other shore of the Pacific. Establish at Hongkong and Shanghai immigration bureaus, with competent officers and interpreters, make it their duty to investigate the cases of would-be immigrants, and to issue certificates to such as have the right of entry, which certificates should be final and conclusive. Forbid captains of vessels to receive Chinese passengers for any port in the United States who are unprovided with such documents. Substantially the entire Chinese immigration comes from a small area—not larger than Long Island—near Canton, and all embark either at Hongkong or Shanghai. Hence but two such bureaus would be necessary, the facts upon which to reach a decision whether a given Chinaman is or is not a laborer would be close at hand and easily secured, and a large number of Chinese, inoffensive yet belonging to the forbidden class, would be spared what to them is an enormous expense and many undeserved hardships to which they are now subjected. And many belonging to the other classes—students, merchants, and travelers—who are now, through ignorance, stupidity, and prejudice, illegally turned back from our

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ports would easily demonstrate and gain their right of entry. Such a system honestly and efficiently enforced would relieve both the Chinese and ourselves of many causes of irritation, and it is believed that the cost of it would be less than that of the bungling and wholly unsuitable arrangements now in force. It ought to be added that an incomplete system of inspection of Chinese immigrants was in operation at the ports named years ago. The duty of inspection devolved upon the Consul, who charged a small fee for his services. It was hastily and carelessly drawn, inefficiently carried out, degenerated into a mere opportunity for "graft," and was abandoned. No fee should be allowed; a special officer independent of the Consul should be appointed to the duty, and paid a suitable salary. Honesty and efficiency are still obtainable, and with them such a system of investigation at the port of embarkation would be a very great improvement over the existing arrangements.

It is difficult to discover either reason or excuse for the extension of the Chinese Exclusion Act to Hawaii and the Philippine Islands. In so doing Congress has deprived the employers in the former territory of their best and only sufficient source of labor, against their earnest and repeated protest and petition, and brought the development of the resources of the islands to a standstill. The natives, now less than 30,000 in number and steadily dying out of the land, are insufficient and worthless as laborers. There is not even a faint prospect of any appreciable emigration of our own people or of Europeans as workingmen to Hawaii. Only the laborer of the Far East is either available or efficient, and he has been shut out. To a far larger extent are these statements true of conditions in the Philippines. In spite of any or all of the rose-colored statements which have been made concerning the climate and conditions of life in that archipelago, the white man cannot live there as a laborer. The native population is at once inefficient and insufficient for the proper development of the enormous resources of those islands. For more than a century at least the Chinese have furnished to a very large extent the merchants, bankers, business men, and laborers for all the groups of islands which make up what is called the Malayan Archipelago, and especially for the Philippines. For our own interests there the continued service of the Chinese is an absolute necessity. There will be no development of those islands if it is to be accomplished only by white immigration. Yet there too Congress has shut off the only supply of labor, and has angered far more deeply than is generally supposed the Chinese who by long occupation had almost acquired a prescriptive right there in so doing. Surely no principle was involved which made this legislation, as regards Hawaii and the Philippines, necessary. Surely, if Congress may enact discriminative legislation between the islandic territories and continental portions of the United States in tariff matters, for the protection of our manufacturers in the latter, it may, and with greater show of wisdom, take a similar course in questions of labor immigration. At least, in justice alike to the Chinese and our own people, it should not exclude labor from wide areas of the United States in which it is imperatively needed. The Hawaiian and Philippine territories should be reserved from the operations of the Act of Congress of April 29, 1902.

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THE EXODUS FROM PHILISTIA[1]

BY ERNEST HAMLIN ABBOTT

IN talking with me about the Board of Directors of his Association, an Assistant Secretary justly characterized the men that are generally found serving as directors of Young Men's Christian Associations throughout the country. "They are," he said, "what are called prominent men."

Those eminently respectable members of the community who pay taxes, thrive in business, and contribute to the churches, usually look with favor upon the Young Men's Christian Association. Most of them are of charitable inclination. They therefore regard benignly the institution which will exert upon the young men of the community an "uplifting" influence. If they are satisfied that the Association is conducted with prudence, they respond generously to requests for subscriptions for its support, and, as a rule, when called upon to serve as directors, give of their time and thought ungrudgingly. I call to mind at random five of the Associations I have visited; the president of one Association is the largest employer of labor in the city, and has given the Association a costly building; of the second Association the president is the highest resident officer of the corporation which is the foundation of the city's prosperity, and he has assisted materially in the very beneficial reorganization of the Association; the president of the third Association is president of a strong oil company; the man who is president of the fourth is connected with a prosperous concern; and of the fifth the president is a manufacturer whose name is of almost National repute, both for the goods he produces and for the assistance he lends to religious and philanthropic enterprises.

Of the employed officers—that is, the paid secretaries—five, of whose history I know something, come to my mind: one had been a life insurance agent, one a traveling salesman, one an iron-molder, one the paymaster of a mill, and one had been in business.

With a single exception—that of the iron-molder—all of these ten men belong, either as employers or employees, to what are usually termed the commercial classes. They are not exceptional; they are typical of the men who, whether by gratuitous service or by profession, are carrying on the work of the Young Men's Christian Associations in America. Under such leaders the Association has been endowed with the commercial temperament. Its standards of success are, or until lately have been, the standards recognized as valid in commercial circles; its ethical point of view, that of the tradesman; its understanding of its duties toward society, that of the ordinary capitalist; its religion, that of a practical man of affairs. There is nothing derogatory in candidly recognizing this fact. The inhabitants of Philistia are good, wholesome people, even if their country is provincial. The fact that the Young Men's Christian Association is a product of Philistia is very greatly to their credit.

The standards of success which Associations generally accept have the advantage of being intelligible. The blank forms on which Association secretaries are supposed to write their annual reports to the International Committee keep the employed officers throughout the year continually asking themselves, "How many?" Their answer is the measure of their success. A new building, costing twice as much as the old one, is a cause for congratulation. A great increase in membership is a source of gratification. As one secretary put it to me, in comparing the Associations of two cities, "The B—— building is touching a much larger number of men than the S—— building." According to these standards, of two situations, that

[1] This is the second of three articles on the Young Men's Christian Association, written as a result of travel and observation. The first of these articles appeared under the title "Christian Pagans," in The Outlook for December 16.

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where a larger number of men "blow into the building" is a preferable site for Association headquarters.

The ethical point of view heretofore prevalent in the Young Men's Christian Association is entirely respectable. The young man who doesn't do wrong, who avoids temptation and is not a stumbling-block to a weaker brother, who is steady and industrious, and who keeps his body vigorous, is doing about all that, from this point of view, can be expected of him. To smoke is morally dangerous—at least so questionable that it is not wise to allow members to smoke in the Association building. To fulfill one's civic duties is, on the other hand, a matter that does not seem to concern a young man's character—at least not to concern it so vitally as to make the influence of the Association ordinarily a power for civic improvement.

The relation of the Association to the great social movements of the time has heretofore been generally one of aloofness. It is true that the Association has established educational classes especially for workingmen; but they are individualistic in purpose; they are used as means for benefiting individual workingmen, not as a contribution to the solution of the great labor problem. As a rule, the Association has had no share in establishing more wholesome relations between employers and employed; it has taken no part in the struggle for an industrial democracy. I visited two Associations in New England which had the reputation of unusual success in establishing cordial relationships with organized labor. In one case, I had been told, the city had decided to establish classes for apprentices; and the unions had asked the Young Men's Christian Association to take it up, for then it would be "on the square." After a visit to that city, I discovered that a small association of engineers—not in any sense a trade-union—had approved a class in steam engineering, and that the master plumbers, not employees but employers of labor, had asked for classes in plumbing. In the other city, where labor is highly organized, and where the Secretary spoke to me not only of the great importance of the industrial problem but also of the friendliness of the laboring men to the Association, I found that the Secretary of the Central Labor Union did not know the Association's Secretary, and had no opinion about the educational classes in the Association because he did not know that they so much as existed. An Association in Pennsylvania maintained a class in industrial training for working boys in order to increase their proficiency in their trade and therefore do them the service of increasing their economic value. The Secretary of the Association, when a friend of mine called his attention to the fact that many of these boys were under the age limit established by the child labor law of the State, and therefore could not be legally employed, replied to this effect: We cannot do anything about that; the gentleman who provides the fund by which this class is sustained is the employer of these boys; it would offend him deeply for us to discontinue the class, and besides we should lose our hold on these boys. Nothing could better illustrate the traditional attitude taken by Associations generally of serviceability toward individuals and irresponsibility toward social conditions. It is the attitude of the benevolent capitalist. The social ethics of the Association is by inheritance the social ethics of the business world.

Similarly, the religion of the Association has been, and to a great extent still is, individualistic. To "touch" or to "reach" men has been its aim. Its conception of the service it could render individual men, as I have tried to show in a preceding article, has been broad; it has embraced service to men's bodies as well as to their souls, a service for this life as well as for the life to come. The conception of a social Christianity, however, has been alien to the Association. Its religion has been a masculine, efficient, business religion.

Even in its relation to the churches the Association has been individualistic. As an undenominational body, it has drawn into its service men of diverse creeds. It has, therefore, been a force for religious unification. It has acted, however, almost solely upon church members, rarely upon churches as such. In many

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cities the Association building, being central in situation, has become the meeting-place of the local clergymen; but usually these clergymen meet as individuals engaged in a common calling, not as representatives of a united body of churches. Not once to my knowledge has the Association undertaken to establish out of this customary meeting any organic connection with the churches represented. The very progressive and efficient Secretary of an Association in the Middle West assured me, in the course of a conversation, that the relation of the Association to the ministers of the city was "cordial;" and in answer to a question explained that there was "*no co-operation with ministers any more than with doctors and lawyers.*" This he seemed to regard as a perfectly satisfactory state of affairs; indeed, as rather a sign of a progressive and broad spirit, untrammeled by ecclesiastical prejudice. A secretary of more conventional type would be just as individualistic, but less consciously so. In most cities which I have visited the secretary cultivates the acquaintance of the minister who can be made useful to the Association by delivering Sunday afternoon addresses, or leading a Bible class, or responding agreeably to notices concerning young men recommended to his church; and troubles himself little with any other ministers or their churches. So long as he is careful not to offend them, and succeeds in avoiding opposition from them or competition with them, he regards his obligation to them as canceled. Most Associations are as addicted to religious individualism as they are devoid of æsthetic sensibility and of social conscience.

The individualistic tradition of the Young Men's Christian Association is not so much wrong as it is limited. It has marked a period of amazing growth in the Association. That period is drawing to a close, and a new period is beginning. As to whether this new period will likewise be one of growth in numbers it would be hazardous to venture an opinion. It will be marked, however, by a new, and I believe wholesome, development in the Association's tradition. There is beginning to appear in the Associations what may be termed a social consciousness. In some Associations it is already manifest in a high degree. These are the Associations which bear evidence of the greatest vitality, and which are leaders in whatever development the Associations are undergoing in this country. I can sketch some phases of this development only in the broadest outline. It is not without significance that in those regions where college men are to be found in considerable numbers among the employed officers, this development seems to have received its greatest impetus; and that perhaps it has reached its most advanced stage in the Middle West.

The most obvious direction in which this new social consciousness might seek practical results is in the relation already existing between the Association and the churches. The fact that the Association has from almost the beginning made membership in some church a condition of voting or holding office in the Association has given the Association the opportunity to offer itself as an agent of the churches. In one city the Association has acted on that opportunity. It called together the ministers of the city, proposed a plan for the formation of a representative committee through which the churches could take concerted action, and unobtrusively suggested a programme which that committee might follow. As a consequence, two pieces of work were undertaken. One was the conduct of a series of religious meetings in a theater, under the direction of most of the Protestant churches in the city acting federally. The other was the conduct of a Bible class, the members of which were elected, two from each of the co-operating churches, and were expected, if not explicitly pledged, to conduct similar Bible classes in their respective churches. In this undertaking the Association acted, so to speak, as executive secretary. For its pains it received as reward no direct additions to its membership; it directly "reached" not a single man. That it received its reward in new and in some cases unprecedented support from the churches is incidental. The essential fact is that the Association had abandoned its traditional measure of

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success, and had become, for the time, an instrument solely for the service of the churches. In another city the Association has participated in a more loosely organized joint undertaking of the churches in a much more extended territory, serving somewhat similarly as an executive body. In a third city the Association, instead of organizing a formal movement among the churches, has sent out men, two by two, to various churches, to assist in holding meetings, at the expense of the Association, within the churches themselves. In this case the churches, rather than the Association, received directly the benefit of the service which the Association rendered. In each of these three instances the Association recognized its obligation to serve not merely individual men, but also the churches as churches.

With other agencies besides the churches certain Associations are finding that they ought to have organic connection. In some cities, for example, there are clubs established for working boys. At the same time the Young Men's Christian Associations have formed "junior departments" for boys too young for the regular Association; they have separate rooms, in some cases separate buildings, for the boys; they have "Boys' Work Directors," chosen for their talent in dealing with boys. Ordinarily, while the boys who frequent the Association's "junior department" might very naturally drift into full Association membership, the sort of boys for whom the Boys' Clubs are established would not become, as they grew older, members of the Young Men's Christian Association. Naturally, therefore, the Associations which have not yet highly developed their sense of social responsibility have regarded these Boys' Clubs with nothing more than friendliness. In two New England cities which I visited, however, the Association has taken charge of the Boys' Club. It has done this in neither case with any expectation of self-aggrandizement, and with very little expectation of "reaching," as they say, individual boys in any such way as the Association can do in the "junior department." It has in each case assumed responsibility for the Boys' Club in response to this growing sense of social obligation. In doing this it is rendering a service not so much to individual boys as it is, first, to a neighboring organization, and, second, to the community.

In somewhat similar fashion the Association secretaries have established relations with other agencies for wholesomeness—in one case, for instance, with a public library; in another with certain social settlements.

Association secretaries who are thus feeling their way out of the condition of institutional isolation established by the tradition of individualism are doing so in response to a change that is gradually, perhaps vaguely, coming over their conception of Christianity. The conception which is taking its place in their subconsciousness might perhaps be stated thus: If to be a Christian is to live under the influence of Jesus, then society, as well as individuals, can be made Christian by being brought under the influence of Jesus. Individuals who are not Christians may thus be members of a community which is on the whole Christian; for that community is Christian which acts organically according to Christian principles. Its treatment of dependent classes, for instance, will be of one sort if, as a community, it is Christian, of another sort if, as a community, it is not. Perhaps it is the business of the Young Men's Christian Association not merely to uphold an ideal for individuals to conform to, but also to aid society to conform to that ideal.

It is at least in the general spirit out of which such a conception of Christianity grows that some secretaries are doing their work. One, for instance, has made a sociological study of certain aspects of the life of the city in which he is working. Several have made attempts, remarkably successful, in bringing employers and employees together on a common ground for better mutual understanding. One Association has held receptions, at each of which the officers of a different factory in the city met with their employees. Other Associations have formed clubs for the study of local municipal conditions and for the promotion of municipal improvements. One Secretary succeeded

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in establishing public playgrounds. Another, regarded as one of the first citizens in his city, has gathered about him a group of men who have profoundly influenced the progress of civic improvement. To that group is due the establishment, for example, of public baths. This group of men gathered together under the influence of the Young Men's Christian Association induced the Chamber of Commerce to employ a special officer to suggest improvements in industrial conditions. As a consequence of this officer's tactful enterprise, conditions in one factory were so changed that whereas formerly men could work only four or five years, now they can work indefinitely; and in another, where the heat prevented men working more than twenty minutes at a time, conditions were changed to permit them to work comfortably in eight-hour shifts. Another Association has a representative regularly present at the sessions of the Juvenile Court.

According to the individualism of Philistia, there is no religion in all this. A kindly old native of that country, while discussing one of these Associations, in which in the old days he had been of great influence, remarked repeatedly that it had lost its spiritual character: "Good work," he said, in reprobation, "but not spiritual work." He did not explain, perhaps he could not have explained, what he meant.

AFTER THE SYMPOSIUM

BY SARA ANDREW SHAFER

MRS. Keziah Dew sat on her porch in the sweet June dusk. Moths were whirring among the pale honeysuckle blossoms. The air was faint with the blended odors of a midsummer night. The blue flame of the great sun, Vega, palpitated with an unwonted radiance among a thousand skyey splendors. All the eternities of the past and of the future spoke in the everlasting voices of the stars.

The New Minister sat on the lowest step leading gardenward. Half-way between him and the stout comeliness of Mrs. Dew the slim figure of Patience Dew showed against the honeysuckle, as if she were a larger, fairer blossom. When a firefly flashed his lamp in one brief upward ecstasy, the girl's hair gave back an answering light, and her eyes glowed, looking starward.

The Women's Missionary Societies of the Point had had an annual reunion that afternoon. A Symposium it had been called, at the suggestion of the wife of the Baptist minister. She had been graduated with honors by a co-educational university, and less favored women naturally recognized the uplift of her every proposition. They felt, therefore, that the meeting had gained an added dignity from the more imposing word, and that the Point had gained distinctly in culture from the paper which had been the chief feature of the Symposium. In it Mrs. Bascom, the leader of the Baptist contingent, had let her light shine upon the subject of Eastern Religions, which she handled in what everybody felt to be a remarkable and illuminating manner. As the reading went on, and the perils of the heathen became more and more imminent, more than one good woman cast about in her mind for some new way to exercise an economy already rigid to the point of immobility, in order that the united offering of her own particular branch of the church universal might be enlarged. Shorter essays upon the manners and beliefs of various missionary fields aroused a still greater interest. Many women prayed for those benighted with all the fervor of their good and tender hearts. Hymns were sung to the accompaniment of the reed organ which stood in the First Church basement—"Coronation," "Greenland's icy," and "Blest be the tie." These had been followed by a very agreeable social hour, during which coffee of the perfect flavor which was the pride of the First Church ladies was served, together with

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so many kinds of sandwiches and cakes that no one present had cared for any supper later on.

The New Minister had dropped in for a cup of coffee, but he had also been quite ready for his supper later. The most austere of men had perforce left off his asceticism had he been placed face to face with the temptations of Mrs. Dew's table three times a day. The New Minister was no ascetic, but a man; young and hopeful, with plenty of red corpuscles in his blood, and plenty of eager faith in his good and honest heart. He was also in so far a favorite of fortune as to be accepted as an inmate of Mrs. Dew's family, during good behavior and upon nominal terms.

"It was a very large and enthusiastic gathering," the New Minister said. He was trying to think of the Symposium. In reality he was imagining how Patience Dew's dark lashes must curl as her eyes were lifted skyward in the gloom. Mrs. Dew cleared her throat.

"I was never one to speak in meeting," she began. "For meeting it was, call it by whatever fancy name they please; but neither am I one to sit like a bucket with the lid off, and take whatever is poured into me, and nothing said. I've tried to jam my square views into round holes for fifty-eight years, without any too great success. I don't wish to influence anybody's beliefs, but to-night I feel as if I'd simply got to speak out. Niece Patience, I wish you'd stayed at home to tea, to-night! I don't say I am right, and I don't say I am wrong, but I am going to devote ten minutes—as the leader said—to expressing my views, and it's more than likely that some of them won't be suitable for children to hear."

"I am twenty-two, Aunt Keziah."

"Tempus does a deal of forgitting, I know," marveled Mrs. Dew. "But twenty-two! However, there we sat, sixty-odd women, the whole livelong afternoon. Not a stitch set, not a cherry preserved, not a weed pulled or a rose-bush hellebored, not one earthly useful thing done while Mrs. Doctor Bascom reeled off pages upon pages of the hardest kind of words, about places we shouldn't know if we stepped on them, and beliefs we don't know any more about than they do about ours. We weren't even resting, for though I am a member of the Old First, as all my folks have been since an Old First there was, I do say that the chairs we sat on are a disgrace; mourning-benches, every one of them, as far as aching joints and creaking bones can mourn. An inch cut off their legs and a little slope to their backs couldn't injure our piety any great, and it does seem to me that when a lot of women, doing their own work, most of them, with old folks or babies to take care of, get together to Symposium the Lord's dealings with his own children, it would please him full as well to see us made comfortable as to behold us sacrificing our bodies like we did.

"I didn't get much out of any of the papers, but I did seem to realize, through all the long words they pronounced so glib, and I forgot so quick, that for his own good pleasure, and because it seemed to him best, the good Lord had seen fit to let a great many people be born in those countries, and to grow up to believe the things Mrs. Doctor Bascom told about, and even to understand the hard words. It may seem to me that he'd done better by them to send them direct to the Point, where they'd have learned the English language, and the value of soap and baking-powder; but he didn't, and I don't know but it's some presumptuous for us to be rolling up our eyes and thinking we have the whole thing. And I can't say but it comes very near being rude to him to tell him what to do with the souls he has made, and to hint that he'd be mighty apt to let them go to ruin without our advice and entreaty. I don't go down to Jonathan Dew's and beg and beseech him not to burn Patience alive, and I don't look for anybody to come here and entreat me not to put poison in the Minister's coffee. But wouldn't that be politeness itself beside the things we accuse our heavenly Father of doing?

"The Lord is a gentleman, through and through, and I, for one, hate to see him treated as if he couldn't be trusted to do what's right without our interference. 'Tain't right, 'tain't fair, and I wonder at

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his patience when I think of all the impudence he gets.

"I never spoke in meeting but once. It was after somebody'd been pleading for the Ministerial Education Fund. He said this, and that, and the minister's wife we had then was in my mind, and I got up, and says I:

"'We're all friends, having been born and raised in Standish County, and most of us right here at the Point, and if the Point isn't like the kingdom of heaven in every particular, it is in one. The secrets of all hearts are revealed, and there's nothing hidden that is not made manifest as fast as we can find it out and spread the glad tidings. You all know me and all about me. A widow with means is the way you describe me, and that is exactly what I am. All of the means don't belong to the widow part of me, for I had right smart before Mr. Dew married me. What come from his side I aim to spend as he would have spent it, so you can put my name down for twenty-five dollars, the same as usual. I happen to have a hundred lying by, and so seventy-five, that came from my side, I shall give to the Salvation Army as expressing my views at the present moment. In September I shall have another extra hundred, and that I will give, glad and free, to any theological seminary whatever that will agree to let the students see a little of real life and learn at first hand what common mortals have to face and fight with, and not pamper them up to think they're made of different clay from the men and women that sit in the pews. Let the boys know what it means to earn a dollar by hard work, and what it means not to have a decent coat. Let them know what it is to stand friendless before the temptations of a great city, where, if the good folks ain't on the lookout to welcome strangers, the bad ones are. Let them even go to the theater, and the races, and play cards. You'll have fewer empty pews and fewer lifeless churches, I presume to say. *Now* the only thing the poor lads are permitted to do is to flirt, and that's the reason they all come out of the seminaries conceited with themselves and in love with some pretty face that may or may not be cut out for a minister's wife.'

"I never was asked to speak in meeting again!

"It must be the weather that's upset me so. That cloud that has been gathering since five o'clock has blotted out all the stars, and I *do* seem to hear thunder. Patience, child, you'd better run on home before the storm breaks."

Patience stood up, and so did the New Minister. "I will walk home with your niece," he said. "Good-night, Mrs. Dew."

They strolled down the quiet street. At the Point, an economy not altogether praiseworthy paid for the lighting of the oil street-lamps only on nights on which no moonlight might be expected. This night being the nineteenth of the month, the Almanac had announced that the moon would be in its first quarter, and it had, therefore, been a waste of money to pay for extra lights. That clouds now obscured the skies was not the fault of the Town Council.

"Mrs. Dew has great originality," observed the New Minister. "Her ideas are always stimulating, but her premises are often wrong."

"Yes," said Patience Dew.

"We do not all come out of the Seminary—engaged—or—in love—" he went on. "Some of us hold our ideals high and sweet until we are sure that we have found them."

"Yes?" Patience quickened her step a little.

"But when we have—oh, Patience!" In all his life the New Minister would never rise to the eloquence of that moment.

"Yes," said Patience Dew.

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THE WAR AND THE LAW[1]

THE numerous questions in international law raised by the recent conflict in the Far East are recalled by the appearance of a portly volume in which the effort is made to analyze with precision and a studied reference to authority each of the several points involved, and to ascertain, in the light of similar previous controversies, in how far the action taken by the belligerents was compatible with the law of nations. So far as concerns Japan, the writers, two English barristers, find little to criticise. "Throughout the war her attitude has been one of intelligent correctness, 'giving nothing away,' in the current phrase, but taking no liberties with accepted international practice." Only once was she "brought into direct collision with public opinion, and even on that occasion the voice of authority was almost equally divided." The reference is to the "cutting out" of the Russian destroyer Reshitelni by the Japanese destroyers Asashio and Kasumi after Admiral Witgeft's desperate sortie from Port Arthur in August, 1904. The Reshitelni, it will be remembered, had sought refuge in the neutral port of Chefoo, and there, after her commander had refused either to leave or to surrender, the Japanese boarded and took possession of the vessel. Japan's contention that China's neutrality was imperfect and applicable only to places unoccupied by the armed forces of either belligerent is described by Messrs. Smith and Sibley as untenable "in the domain of theory and even of practice." On the other hand, they concede some force to the plea which would exonerate Japan on the score of Russia's "constant violations of Chinese neutral territory between the Great Wall and the Liau River" and "disregard of the neutrality of the treaty port of Niuchuang." For "the definition of a neutral is *in bello medius;* and if in fact one belligerent, by consent or otherwise, is constantly deriving military advantages by infringement of neutrality, his enemy is not bound to acquiesce indefinitely in such a state of affairs." At the same time, so far as the Reshitelni incident is a question between the belligerents, the writers deem Japan clearly in the wrong. It is further their opinion that, as a result of this case and others, both Japan and Russia are entitled to enter claims against China for permitting infractions of her neutrality. "The only conceivable excuse for China is her weakness, though it may be questioned whether this excuse avails."

Russia's treatment of neutral shipping is unreservedly condemned, and the writers are no less severe in their observations on the proclamation placing food and coal in the category of absolute contraband articles. They hold, however, that the concession of September, 1904, transferring food to the class of provisional contraband, "brought Russian practice into line with the best opinions." Another count against Russia is based on the passage of the Bosphorus by the Petersburg and the Smolensk, denounced as an evasion of treaty obligations; and on the way these volunteer cruisers subsequently exercised the right of visitation and search, which, the student is reminded, should be exercised only (1) by vessels commissioned by their sovereign; (2) over neutral mercantile vessels; (3) upon the high seas, or within the territorial waters of the belligerent or his enemy. The question of territoriality reappears in the discussion of the use of mines and torpedoes. Up to the present no limitations have been set to the employment of these deadly instruments of warfare, but, as Messrs. Smith and Sibley suggest, the torpedoing of the British steamer Hipsang. and the loss of the Japanese war-ship Hatsuse by striking a mine far beyond the traditional three-mile limit, make very evident the urgent necessity for action to safeguard the right of neutrals to navigate the high seas without inviting destruction. On the supposition that coast territoriality is governed by the

[1] *International Law as Interpreted During the Russo-Japanese War.* By F. E. Smith and N. W. Sibley. The Boston Book Company, Boston, Mass.

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distance to which cannon-shot carries, it is here argued that artillery improvements have extended the limit from three to fifteen miles, in which case the Hatsuse was blown up in territorial waters and no blame can attach to Russia from the point of view of international law. In this connection is recalled United States Consul Graham's protest to Sir Philip Wodehouse on the capture of the Sea Bride by the Alabama, August, 1863: "I believe there is no law defining the word 'coast' other than international law. That law has always limited neutral waters to the fighting distance from land, which, upon the invention of gunpowder, was extended to a distance of three nautical miles from land on a straight coast, and by the same rule, since the invention of Armstrong rifled cannon, to at least six miles." The throwing of projectiles from balloons is similarly a matter requiring attention on account of the expiration of the five-year probationary period during which the Hague Peace Conference signatories agreed not to put balloons to such a use. Of importance, likewise, is the question of the use of wireless telegraphy in war, a subject here discussed with "espionage," and concerning which the writers are of the opinion that henceforth operators not identified with the public forces of either belligerent "are not unlikely to be treated as spies by the belligerent to whom their presence is offensive."

Nearly one hundred and fifty pages are devoted to the two topics "The Law of Blockade" and "International Arbitration," the North Sea tragedy furnishing the occasion for an exhaustive survey of the history and possibilities of international arbitration. Citing Mr. W. E. Hall's openly expressed belief that arbitration is successful only when relatively unimportant matters are in dispute, it is justly claimed that "the North Sea crisis was hardly a case where the matter at stake was unimportant, nor did it exhibit much analogy to the subject matter of previously successful arbitrations," and that the success of the North Sea reference was "all the more gratifying" in view of the fact that "the moment did not appear favorable for a recourse to arbitral methods." The exposition of the law of blockade is perhaps the most impressive feature of the work, covering all forms of blockade and developing the differences between European and American and British practice. Here, as elsewhere, Messrs. Smith and Sibley, while not always freeing themselves from the innate bias of national allegiance, show a thorough acquaintance with their subject and the ability to treat it in a more than usually interesting way.

Comment on Current Books

A History of Modern England This is the fourth volume of Mr. Herbert Paul's work, on which we have already commented at considerable length in The Outlook of March 12, 1904, and August 5, 1905. The new volume opens with a survey of the Near East tangle of 1876, and carries its subject to the fall of the Gladstone Ministry in 1885. The remarks already made apply here, save that the movement is perhaps more leisurely, although the earlier directness and incisiveness still obtain. (The Macmillan Company, New York. $2.50, net.)

Animal Snapshots A practical and convincing manual, easy to be used by any one wishing to follow the guidance of the author, Mr. Silas A. Lottridge. It is the story of camping vacations in fields and woods, in which the pleasures of the summer days are carried back to the city and cheer the entire year. The author photographed the animals and studied their ways in quiet leisure, obtaining some of the best pictures we have seen. Patience and years of time have gone into the work. In his sketches of the animals he photographed Mr. Lottridge shows an attractive sanity of judgment. The woodchuck, skunk, raccoon, opossum, muskrat, fox, and several kinds of squirrels were caught by his camera, together with many birds. (Henry Holt & Co., New York. $1.75.)

A Queen of Napoleon's Court Désirée Bernadotte, Queen of Sweden, the subject of Catherine Bearne's chatty chronicle of high life in the France of Napoleon's day, was the daughter

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of a prosperous Marseilles silk merchant. Betrothed at a tender age to Napoleon, she was jilted by him as soon as he saw his road clear to advancement, and was soon afterwards married to Bernadotte, her sister having previously married Napoleon's brother Joseph. Her interests, as well as her husband's, were thus closely connected with the great Corsican's fortunes, and she lived to see the whirligig of time place her on one of the oldest thrones in Europe, and the lover of her girlhood driven into a lonely exile. Miss Bearne has told the story of Désirée's career in France with a fullness that would render the perusal of her book a formidable undertaking were it not for the abundance of gossip and anecdote with which she lightens it. Oddly enough, but one chapter is given to her heroine's Swedish experiences, which extended over thirty-seven years. (E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. $2.50, net.)

Comparative Religion

The branch of science which is devoted to a comparative study of all forms of religion has already justified the saying that one who knows only his own religion does not know it well enough. The recentness of this science and the interest it has awakened seem to call for a text-book exhibiting its genius and method. Mr. Louis Henry Jordan, of the University of Chicago, has well qualified himself to prepare such a text-book, and presents this volume of over six hundred pages as "an adventurous literary pioneer." It does not, except in an occasional and cursory way, undertake the actual comparison of religions. It is mainly descriptive of the distinctive method, aim, and scope of the new science, its genesis, its prophets and pioneers, its founders and masters, its schools and auxiliary sciences, its mental emancipations, other achievements and growing bibliography. Whoever wishes to know "all about" Comparative Religion at its present stage will find cyclopædic information here in sufficient fullness, not merely in the text but also in appended charts, and all carefully indexed for ready reference. Mr. Jordan has cast a comprehensive net, and incloses a variety of matter not indispensable to his subject; *e.g.*, some thirty pages of a cursory account of many other sciences which follow the comparative method, including even forestry. He has not failed to evince the substantial gain insured by his favorite science in a truer understanding of what religion really is, and in a juster appreciation not only of all other religions but especially of Christianity itself. But the chart facing the title-page, and representing one-third of mankind as "adherents" of Christianity, requires "adherents" to be interpreted rather objectionably as a sort of legal fiction. (Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. $3.50, net.)

Captain John Smith

Mr. A. G. Bradley's contribution to the English Men of Action Series is undeniably interesting, but it is extremely uncritical, and this albeit in its comments on those who have been rash enough to question Smith's veracity it makes pretensions to critical weight. The statement that Smith's personal narrative is the sole authority for much we know of him is correct, but this does not free the biographer from the task of checking that narrative in the light of the other original documents unearthed by modern research. A curious illustration of Mr. Bradley's disregard or ignorance of the results of recent scholarship is seen in his adoption of the traditional version of the massacre of the Huguenots in Florida. There is not even a suggestion that the validity of this story—which represents Menendez as having hanged the settlers, with the inscription attached to the breast of each, "Not as to Frenchmen, but as to Lutherans"—has been attacked, and, in the opinion of the latest scholars, attacked successfully. Virtually all of Smith's exploits as a crusader in Transylvania and as a pioneer in Virginia are unhesitatingly accepted, the result being a vivid, thrilling recital of adventure and achievement. As a matter of fact, when criticism has exhausted its darts there still remains sufficient glory in Smith's career to stamp him one of the greatest figures in early colonial America, and, if only for this reason, Mr. Bradley might well have kept his enthusiasm under control, and have admitted the possibility of spots on the sun of his hero's reputation. (The Macmillan Company, New York. 75c.)

English Furniture

In format and in illustration Mr. Frederick S. Robinson's book is sumptuous. Not least of its merits is the simple, artistic cover-design in green and gold. The plan of putting the pictures all together at the end of the work on separately printed plates has some obvious advantages, when accompanied as here by a full list of the plates at the outset and references throughout the text. The specimens of ancient settles, chairs, cabinets, chests, tables, and other rare pieces will excite many a collector's cupidity. Mr. Robinson treats his subject historically, and one notes with wonder the slowness of the growth of English ideas of comfort in domestic life (until nearly 1600 only the head of the house was supplied with a chair; his children and his guests also sat on benches), and the rapidity with which beauty of design was attained after

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the art of furniture-building was once fairly started. Extremely interesting also is the talk about secret hiding-places in cabinets. While for the average general reader there is a good deal of dry detail and almost too elaborate accuracy as to dates and makers, the collector will find this part of the work valuable for reference, while the thoroughness of treatment is relieved by frequent passages bringing out admirably the historical associations of the subject and its picturesque aspects. Altogether the book is a valuable and attractive addition to the series edited by Mr. Cyril Davenport and known as the "Connoisseur's Library." (G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. $6.75.)

Historic Illinois Recent years have seen some capital contributions to the history of the several States of the Union, but few at once so full and so entertaining as Mr. Randall Parrish's study of Illinois. He recounts, of course, the achievements of the early explorers, Joliet, Marquette, Hennepin, La Salle, Tonty, and their fellow-pathfinders in the wilderness; the story of Kaskaskia and Vincennes, of the tragedy at Fort Dearborn, and of the prolonged border warfare; but he also incorporates a great deal of detailed information usually accessible only in scattered monographs. Thus, he writes of the mound-builders and Indian tribes of the Illinois country, the old trails and waterways, the forgotten Spanish invasion of 1781, the Mormon settlements, the murders of Joseph Smith and of the abolitionist Lovejoy, dueling, old-time preachers, border outlawry, and the coming of the steamboat and railway. His book, in a word, is encyclopædic in scope. No pretense is made to original research, but the authorities followed are sound, and there is little to criticise. (A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago. $2.50, net.)

In Further Ardenne The "Further Ardenne" of which the Rev. T. H. Passmore writes is the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg, that tiny principality hedged in between Belgium, Prussia, France, and Lorraine. To tourists it is still very much a terra incognita, possibly owing to the fact, as Mr. Passmore suggests, that Baedeker has little to say about it. "Beaten track itineraries," he cuttingly observes, "have this way with them. I remember that a certain important guide-book dismisses exquisite Volterra of Tuscany with a luminous note to the effect: 'Nothing worth seeing here.'" To inspire travelers with something of his own enthusiasm for the duchy is in part the purpose of his "In Further Ardenne." But only in part, for it is quite obvious that he has largely been animated by the sheer delight of writing. In any event, we have to thank him for a very entertaining volume, in which history, legend, folk-lore, and description are linked together by a mind attuned to the picturesque, the romantic, and—the humorous. Travel books are usually no laughing matter, at any rate in the complimentary sense, but there is more than one smile in each of Mr. Passmore's three hundred pages. Nor, so easy and spontaneous is it, does the humor grow wearisome. It seems impossible for this clergyman-author to perceive other than the sunny side of life, and if in retelling the story of the duchy he needs must touch the disagreeable at many points, he touches it so airily that the contact is scarcely felt. This, of course, is not the way that history, as history, should be written. But Mr. Passmore cheerfully disavows any desire to be taken seriously, and criticism may well keep silence. (E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. $2.50, net.)

Julian the Apostate The late Gaetano Negri, an Italian statesman and scholar, has chosen here a subject close to his sympathies—a man of brilliant intellect and strenuous morality in revolt from a corrupted Christianity. As such the Emperor Julian gained from the Church of his time the name of "Apostate," which has stuck to him since. As such he heads a long line of those whom the false representatives of Christianity have scandalized into rejection of the faith presented to them so deformed and smirched. As the original type of the numerous class who have sought outside of the pale of the Church a purer ideal than they saw within, the life of Julian possesses an enduring interest. As a disciple of Renan, Senator Negri was peculiarly qualified to be Julian's biographer. He keenly appreciates the moral sublimity of primitive Christianity, and the moral degradation that was bred of the adulterous alliance of the Church with despotic political power. He is not, however, hindered by his admiration for the austere idealist who is his hero from seeing his faults and fallacies, and pronouncing "insane" his attempt to revitalize and purify an effete and corrupted paganism. Senator Negri's remark that Christianity caused the ruin of the ancient civilization shows him less skilled as a philosopher than as a historian. His study of the original sources, both pagan and Christian, has given him an intimacy with Julian's life and Julian's world which imparts vitality both to his work and to the interest of its readers. (Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. $5, net.)

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Literary Illustrations of the Bible

Dr. James Moffatt, one of the more distinguished Biblical scholars of our time, has in the volumes of this series relating to Ecclesiastes and St. Mark presented a small but choice assortment of gleanings from a fruitful field. Some of these are passages of prose and verse which apply somewhat closely a Bible text; others serve to give apt and fresh development to a Biblical thought. In each case such quotations from well-known authors illuminate or expand the significance of the Scriptures. (A. C. Armstrong & Son, New York. 40c. per vol.)

Lippincott's New Gazetteer

This is an entirely new edition of a familiar and valuable work. It has been carefully and thoroughly revised and brought down to the year 1905. Much unnecessary amplification has been done away with; the hundreds of pages of census reports have been omitted; many long articles, such as those on New York, Philadelphia, and Boston, have been skillfully shortened. Thus room has been found for the vast amount of new material that geographical research and the march of improvement have made indispensable to a complete gazetteer. The last previous edition contained nearly 2,900 pages, this contains about 2,000. As a result, we have a more usable volume, while, so far as our examination has shown, nothing essential has been omitted. Examples of intelligent treatment of subjects of special recent interest are Antarctica, Panama, Japan, Lhasa, Victoria Falls—to take a few titles at random. The respelling for pronunciation, we must add, however, while carefully edited, is furnished with diacritical marks that are painfully minute. We note also that "Wilkes-Barre," as it was printed in the former edition, is now printed "Wilkesbarre," but no indication as to the pronunciation of this historically interesting compound name is given, to the regret of the admirers of Colonel Barré. For the newspaper office, the library, and the increasing number of business men whose field is the world and who must have accurate information about it, Lippincott's Gazetteer in its new form will be as indispensable as is an unabridged dictionary. (J. B. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia. $10, net.)

Madame Geoffrin and Her Salon

An able writer with even a passing acquaintance with the subject can always find something interesting to say concerning the French salon, and particularly concerning the Paris salon of the third quarter of the eighteenth century, when this unique social institution was at its zenith. It was during this period that Madame Geoffrin, most remarkable of bourgeoisie, held her "Mondays" and "Wednesdays," to which flocked the literary, artistic, and social "lions," not simply of Paris, but of Europe; and in selecting Madame Geoffrin's salon as her theme, Miss Janet Aldis has given herself the opportunity of writing a most entertaining book. She has, however, done more than this; for in retelling the story of the salon and its famous habitués, she has set forth in a picturesque manner much of the economic as well as social history of the period, and her book may thus be read for more than diversion. It is bright, easy, extremely anecdotal, and studded with word-miniatures of the notables of the day. The central figure, of course, is Madame Geoffrin herself, whose story is, as Miss Aldis puts it, the chronicle of a life spent in doing good, and whose death drew from such contemporaries as D'Alembert and the Abbé Morellet heartfelt tributes of respect, affection, and sorrow. (G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. $2.75.)

Mrs. Fitzherbert and George IV.

Although there has long been no real doubt that the beautiful Maria Fitzherbert was the canonical, if illegal, wife of George IV., it is satisfactory to know that indisputable proofs of the marriage have at last been forthcoming. These proofs, in the form of the marriage certificate, letters from the King, etc., were preserved from the fire to which the Duke of Wellington compelled Mrs. Fitzherbert to commit the great majority of her papers, and of late years have been buried in the secret archives of Windsor Castle. There, thanks to the permission of King Edward, they were recently examined by Mr. W. H. Wilkins, who, with their aid and the aid of contemporary state papers, memoirs, and correspondence, and information in the possession of the Fitzherbert and other families, has written the first authentic and complete account of the life of the long-suffering and unrecognized wife. The self-constituted champion of distressed royal dames, Mr. Wilkins has never wielded his pen to better purpose. It is easy for such a work as this to degenerate into a compilation of scandal, but the main theme has been held steadily in view and the emphasis properly laid on the political aspects of the case. The result is a sane and interesting addition to the historical literature of the period as well as a delightful portrait of a most attractive woman. Mr. Wilkins is too much of an advocate to be a wholly convincing historian, and there are signs that he has written in some haste. But his task, in spite of the

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unusual facilities afforded him, has been difficult, and he deserves full credit for the tact, sensibility, and good taste with which he has performed it. (Longmans, Green & Co., New York. $5.)

Napoleon's Notes on English History The "notes" which the late Henry Foljambe Hall has edited and amplified by extended comments from his own reading of the results of later research were made by Napoleon when he was a young officer in garrison at Auxonne. They were published about a quarter of a century ago by M. Frédéric Masson, but, so far as we are aware, this is their first appearance in English. For the most part they were occasioned by a study of Barrow's "History of England," a translation of which had been issued just before the time Napoleon began to write. But, as is observed by Mr. Hall, they are by no means a slavish condensation of Barrow. In fact, Napoleon usually differs from his authority, and not infrequently his conclusions are more in accord with those entertained by modern writers. Mr. Hall's own observations are original and instructive, albeit not always as critical as could be desired. (E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. $3, net.)

Pistoja In this dainty volume by Anna R. Sheldon one who knows the rare attractiveness of a little-visited Tuscan city, only twenty-one miles from Florence, supplies the lack of a convenient guide-book in English, handsomely illustrated. It was a happy thought and is well worked out. (Brentano's, New York. $1.25.)

Scientific Temper in Religion The conferences reported in the chapters of this volume were undertaken by a minister of the Church of England, the Rev. P. N. Waggett, as a supplement to the regular services of worship. His object is to remove a false antagonism of the religious spirit to the scientific. Undertaken as an experiment, it seems to be one which every minister who can qualify himself for it would do well to imitate. The speaker limits himself to salient points, which he discusses in a course of leisurely and simplified thought punctuated with acute observations. In this he finely exemplifies both the religious and the scientific spirit. If he fails at all, it is in the treatment of "Experience and Dogma," where he seems to skate quickly over very thin ice in implying that certainty once found in Christ will lead to conviction of the entire creed of the Church. Apparently a monist in philosophy, and not recognizing spirit and matter as alternatives, he finds no real contradiction between determinism and free will, but rather that all is law and all is freedom. Here is profitable reading for many a clergyman, and for many a devout layman also. (Longmans, Green & Co., New York. $1.50.)

Seffy Mr. John Luther Long gives us here a romance among the Pennsylvania Dutch, showing them in the crudest simplicity of manner and speech. The sub-title, "A Little Comedy of Country Manners," is descriptive of the book. How the dull-witted Seffy managed to win the place of a leader in the outside world the author has considerately left to the imagination of the reader. It needs imagination. The book has decorated margins, a dainty cover, and colored plates. (The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Indianapolis. $1.50.)

The Life and Speeches of Thomas Williams In this work Mr. Burton Alva Konkle follows practically the method employed in his earlier "The Life and Times of Thomas Smith, 1745–1809, a Pennsylvania Member of the Continental Congress." Instead of anything like a studied biography, he has written what is essentially a source-book for a biography—that is to say, he arranges the facts of his hero's private and public life in chronological order, introduces much illustrative material in the way of speeches, pamphlets, and correspondence, but largely leaves the reader to draw his own conclusions. The work is also a source-book for some most interesting State and National history, Mr. Williams having been a prominent Pennsylvanian, active as a founder of both the Whig and Republican parties, able alike as jurist, reformer, debater, and legislator, and a member of both houses of the State Legislature and of the National House of Representatives, in the latter of which he was one of the managers of the impeachment of President Johnson. Senator Knox has written an introduction which is an appreciation of both Mr. Konkle and his subject. (Campion & Co., Philadelphia, Pa. $6, net.)

The Bird-Watcher in the Shetlands The notes and digressions of a born and famed naturalist, Edmund Selous, are preserved in this large, handsome volume, and will attract primarily the man who most completely shares the tastes of the author. Avowedly a lover of birds and seals and books, more than a lover of men, the watcher betook himself to his tiny sentry-box on a Shetland cliff and lived with his chosen companions. His observations are extremely minute and recorded faithfully, but his especial pride seems to be in the latitude he has given himself in the matter of digressions. He glories in his

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"temperament," and only promises to write as a nonentity when he becomes one—not a present ambition. Shakespeare and a passion for the great and small birds of the rough island coast dominate him, and he becomes eloquent upon either theme. His wisdom is shown when he recognizes the fact "driven home" to him that there is no such thing as "always" or "never" in animal life. Every creature is ready to alter its habits, and is often in the process. His ambition is to make a naturalist who shall use neither a gun nor a cabinet. "Pretty, i' faith" is his comment. He believes that the desire to kill animals will one day cease—but not until the animals have ceased! His only comfort is that he will have ceased before either. With this somewhat whimsical humor the book abounds—but more substantial and certainly of great value to the student are the detailed records of observations, both birds and seals having been minutely and most patiently studied. (E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. $3.50, net.)

The Life of Molière In Mr. H. M. Trollope's elaborate and painstaking work upon the great French dramatist, English-speaking people have a complete and sympathetic analysis of the man and his genius. The author has depended entirely upon French sources for his facts, and he adopts from preference and conviction the French point of view. Urging a more intimate knowledge of Molière upon his own countrymen, he declares that but two things are required in order to enjoy his writings—a liking for and appreciation of comedy, and a fair reading knowledge of French. Nothing could be more thorough than this author's method. He considers the condition of French comedy at the time of Molière's birth in 1622—only one permanent theater then in Paris—and regards it as of far less influence than a full century earlier. Leading up to Molière, he describes his parentage, childhood, and years of schooling. His love for the art of acting soon showed itself, and he joined a company of strolling players. On returning to Paris after thirteen years, the actors found favor with the King, and were formally given the protection of Monsieur, the King's brother. From this time dated the active working life of Molière. An interesting chapter is given to a description of the salon of the Hôtel de Rambouillet, necessary to explain the fun and the enormous success of the "Précieuses Ridicules." After a careful discussion of Molière's ideas of comedy and the stage customs of his day, the author devotes the larger part of his work to criticism and analysis of the actual plays, interesting and valuable to the student. The few biographical details in regard to Molière's life are sifted with minute care, and we leave the study convinced that little more can be added in future to our knowledge of the great Frenchman. The estimate of him as a writer is that he was always clear and his views of life were remarkably sound. He was so human in his thoughts that, except in some details of form, his scenes might have been written yesterday. "He saw with perfect clearness what men's fads are, and he knew how to make their crotchets appear ridiculous without altering the main features in the characters of his personages. He kept nature before him as his groundwork, using ridicule and laying stress upon it in order to show the lessons he wished to teach." In the words of Sainte-Beuve, "Molière, c'est la morale des honnêtes gens." (E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. $3.50, net.)

The Life of Oliver Ellsworth Oliver Ellsworth's chief claim to distinction lies, of course, in his work as founder of the Federal court system, but he otherwise served his country to good purpose as member of the Continental Congress, the Constitutional Convention, and the United States Senate, Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court, and Envoy to France. Though his fame has been overshadowed by the memory of such builders of the Republic as Washington, Jefferson, Hamilton, Madison, and Monroe, he was none the less a builder with them, and deservedly should be held in esteem by the Americans of to-day. That he is not more widely known is largely due to the fact that hitherto the biographer has paid him scant attention. But in William Garrott Brown's book on his life and works the treatment is as ample as could be desired, if, indeed, it be not at times a trifle too detailed for easy reading. Much hitherto unpublished material is brought to light, the arrangement is as a rule excellent, and the impression left is that of a clean-cut portrait of a fine old Connecticut and American patriot. (The Macmillan Company, New York. $2, net.)

The Life of Voltaire A third edition has now been issued of Mr. S. G. Tallentyre's life, of which The Outlook said when it first appeared: "It is not as artistic nor as interesting as James Parton's interpretation of Voltaire's character; it is not as lucid, as intelligible, and as self-consistent as Mr. Morley's interpretation. There is no portrait of Voltaire here that equals that which Thomas Carlyle has etched in his Essays. The book lacks perspective and proportion. The author's painting is the reverse of the impressionist. . . . But it does not lack material carefully collected. It does

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not lack clearness, precision, a rational judgment, and occasional brilliance in expression. It may prove to be, we are not sure but that it will, the best life of Voltaire in the English language for the student, just because of its amplitude of detail." (G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. $3.50.)

The Memories of Rose Eytinge The scattered memories of half a century of public life should contain some incidents of real value. The impression left by this book is one of good temper, success in the author's chosen profession, and kindly judgment of her comrades. There are no striking events, no tragedies recorded, nor exciting adventures narrated. The pretty, popular actress happily associated with the Wallacks, Davenport, Booth, and others of that period, writes almost entirely of her sunny days. Her experiences in Egypt, where she lived in the diplomatic circle, after giving up the stage for a time; her acquaintances among some of the lesser lights in English literature, and her sincere friendships here in America, make up a succession of interests, of which she writes pleasantly. There are spirit and individuality in many of her comments upon people, and she embellishes her book with excellent portraits of her theatrical friends. (The Frederick A. Stokes Company, New York. $1.50.)

The New Idolatry This volume includes unrelated papers—republications of previous articles and addresses. Unrelated we call them, though a certain unity of theme, or at least of spirit, connects them: they all deal with the practical and ethical problems incident to a democratic and commercial age. We regret that Dr. Gladden has put at the fore in this volume his discussions on "tainted money," because this will prejudice some readers against the rest of the book; and its spirit and lessons are both needed by the American people. (McClure, Phillips & Co., New York. $1.20, net.)

The Purple Land A narrative of unusual charm is this idyl by Mr. W. H. Hudson. The fair land discovered by Magellan in 1500—the "Purple Land" of Richard Lamb—with its overlooking mountain, Monte Vidi, is full of romance. A young, reckless Englishman, fired by love for Paquita, of Buenos Ayres, elopes with her to Monte Video, and, being quite penniless, leaves her in the care of an old aunt and sets off for an *estancia* two hundred miles away, to find his fortune. The time of the romance is in the early seventies, and the ten years' siege of Monte Video is still fresh in the minds of the Spanish-Americans, always on the verge and often in the throes of revolution. Young Richard Lamb rides forth an errant knight, and many adventures and desperadoes and fair ladies fall to his share. The country, the people, the customs, the moral and political ideals, all pass in vivid array before us. Whether the book found favor or not twenty years ago, when it first appeared, now the reader who can appreciate literary charm and fresh, almost elemental, or at least mediæval ideas, will enjoy it to the full. It is well to preserve so graphic a picture of the old *guacho* life on the pampas of South America. (E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. $1.50.)

The Renegade and Other Tales We have spoken more than once, we think, of the sound literary work and sympathetic feeling in Miss Martha Wolfenstein's "Idyls of the Gass." Here is another volume of short tales relating to Jewish life which is equally admirable—full of local color, race peculiarities treated with knowledge and skill, and withal broad human sympathy and delicate humor. One of the tales, we are glad to say, appeared in The Outlook. (The Jewish Publication Society of America, Philadelphia. $1.25.)

Vikings of the Pacific In the sense that it deals with early voyagers and explorers, Miss Agnes Laut's new book may be considered a companion volume to her "Pathfinders of the West," published last year. As before, she writes of men whose names are household words—Bering, Drake, Cook, Vancouver—and of others less familiar to the public—Benyowsky, Gray, Ledyard, and Baronof; and always in a way that clearly visualizes for the reader the exciting events and notable deeds described, the text being based on first sources. What Radisson was to Miss Laut's former work, Robert Gray—"as true a naval hero as ever trod the quarter-deck, who did the same for the West as Cartier did for the St. Lawrence and Hudson for the river named after him"—is to the present one. Miss Laut feels no doubt that Gray deserves full recognition as the discoverer of the Columbia, and she would also rank him with Cook, by reason of his having "led the way for the American flag around the world." The book is freely and well illustrated. (The Macmillan Company, New York. $2, net.)

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Letters to The Outlook

THE FUTURE OF ARBITRATION

In Dr. de Martens's article on the Portsmouth Treaty in your issue of November 11 one sentence occurs which seems to me unfortunate and destined to do harm among the large number of your readers who naturally are not informed on the little-understood subject of world organization. It is as follows: "Nevertheless, I am far from thinking that every dispute is really capable of being settled by the permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague, or by any other kind of arbitration." If by "every dispute" he means civil questions such as led to our Civil War, I do not differ from him. Civil war is in a category by itself. But he indubitably refers to international disputes, and here he is certainly at variance with the distinguished members of the International Arbitration Society which met in Washington in January, 1904. Under the presidency of the Hon. John W. Foster, this convention unanimously supported the resolution that between Great Britain and the United States there should be a treaty pledging the arbitration of "all differences which they may fail to adjust by diplomatic negotiations," and urging that our Government should enter into similar treaties with other Powers. Such men as Judge Gray and the Hon. Oscar S. Straus, both members of the Hague Court, the Hon. Wayne MacVeagh, the Hon. S. R. Thayer—our former Minister to Holland—and other eminent men were on the committee of resolutions, and among those participating in the meeting or in charge of it were Andrew Carnegie, Cardinal Gibbons, President Jordan, President D. C. Gilman, and two hundred other men of National repute, too numerous to mention. It was a picked assembly, including many judges and jurists.

Dr. de Martens holds that before the recent war "arbitration would have been perfectly possible if only the Court of Arbitration had been called upon to decide, not political questions, but the points of law brought into question by this conflict." I have been credibly assured that the Czar was advised by his legal counsel as late as November before the beginning of the war that all questions at issue could be settled by arbitration, and that the Czar was ready to have them so settled, but, with the spirit of Oriental dalliance, he delayed and delayed until he suddenly awaked to find himself in an unexpected war.

The questions at issue were not purely legal. Two nations were trying to gain influence or control over a region which neither of them owned and to which neither had a moral right. It was a question of world importance, and, had other nations done their duty and taken the part which one of the Hague Conventions—that on "Good Offices and Mediation"—provided, there seems no reason why not only might the legal questions have been forced to an arbitration, but the political questions involving the security of Japan and a Pacific outlet for Russia have been amicably settled by a concerted agreement among the Powers.

That it was not so settled must be Russia's bitter regret to-day. The security which Japan has at last achieved, at the expense of incalculable loss of blood and treasure, might have been obtained without that loss. The war resulted, first, from the failure of the world to provide sufficient world organization to prevent the causes of this war; second, from the lack of concerted action on the part of three or four strong nations to outlaw nations that refuse to arbitrate; and, finally, from the failure of Russia and Japan to use the means at their command to arbitrate such questions as were arbitrable. The inability of the Hague Court to settle all cases is merely a temporary inability (if, indeed, it be such), and not surely, as Dr. de Martens seems to imply, a permanent inability. Such questions as he now calls "political," and therefore, as he thinks, lie outside the province of the Court, are to be put under international laws just as soon as the world creates machinery for this. The first step in the process is the action of the second Hague Conference, which next summer probably will consider the formation of a regular International Assembly for consultation on all questions of international relationship, especially those which, unsettled, lead to friction and war. This year, in which public opinion intelligently directed can bring this matter to fruition, may mark the greatest advance ever yet taken in human history to promote justice and rational relationships between nations. The recommendations of such a World Assembly, when ratified by the majority of the nations represented in it, would at once become international law for those nations that ratified, and as such would be interpreted by the Supreme Court of Nations at The Hague. The neutralization of waters and the neutralization of danger spots, which create endless "political" difficulties, belong

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to the work of such a World Assembly. No radical change in human nature is necessary for the consummation, within a decade or two, of a world organization with a legislative department as a gradual evolution from a consultative assembly, and an executive department of commissions, in addition to the judicial department already created in 1889. As Justice Brewer pointed out and emphasized in his address at Mohonk last June, the Hague Court will never need an army to compel any nation, defeated by its decision, to abide by the verdict; neither will even the strongest military nation dare go to war if outlawed by the other nations for so doing. As Mr. Carnegie has declared recently, three or four great nations acting in concert, not in an offensive or defensive alliance, but in the interests of world peace, can, by a declaration of non-intercourse, prevent any war that threatens, whether the causes be legal or political.

LUCIA AMES MEAD.

Boston, Massachusetts.

DOMESTIC INDUSTRIES FOR THE BOER WOMEN

At the close of the Boer War the women and girls were left in great need of all the ordinary comforts of life. Worse than that, they were left with no chance to earn an honest living. Through the energy and wisdom of Miss Hobhouse, of England, many of them are now learning the simple domestic industries which will at least clothe them, and will by and by develop into something of great importance to these suffering people.

Associated with Miss Hobhouse, though thousands of leagues away, is the devoted Countess degli Asinelli, who resides in Switzerland. As the result of her unwearied exertions, about four hundred and fifty spinning-wheels have been collected from the peasant homes of Switzerland, which are to be sent to the women of the Transvaal, where Miss Hobhouse has already a successful school for knitting, spinning, and weaving. To carry these wheels to South Africa, to install them and pay for instruction in their use, requires more money than is at the command of the ladies who have the business in hand. The undersigned has offered to transmit to them any sums of money that sympathetic friends in America will send for this purpose. Any amount of proof can be furnished as to the need of such work among the Boers, as to the success of the undertaking already, and as to the actual use of the money for the purposes mentioned, none of it being lost by the friction even of clerical work and postage. The latest word from Miss Hobhouse is as follows:

"We are at work on a very handsome large square rug, spun and dyed by us, to carry out an order. Daily I sit at this rug with an orphan on either side of me, the three of us working in a row. Meantime Hester, one of our most dependable and best-qualified helpers, mainly carries on the little school of knitters at Vrededorp. Her trials have been many, but she never flinches. . . . Two or three more Philippolis girls have gone back to their farms from the school and will there spin and weave rugs. Each of these cases makes me feel that we are moving a step forward in planting the industries in the country homes. Lack of wheels keeps us back more than anything else. You can imagine, therefore, how overjoyed we were at the offer from Switzerland of a number of Swiss wheels now laid by and out of use in that country. I have cabled acceptance of this most generous offer, and really begin to hope that the 'shipload of wheels' I asked for actually will reach these shores."

Are there not those who will help to pay for the sending of these wheels to South Africa? Perhaps they will carry with them some of the cunning of the Swiss women to the fingers of their far-away sisters. Checks or money sent to the undersigned will be personally acknowledged, and the money sent at once to the Countess degli Asinelli for forwarding the spinning-wheels to the Transvaal.

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